Exploring Cultural History

Essays in Honour of Peter Burke

Edited by
Melissa Calaresu, Filippo de Vivo and Joan-Pau Rubiés

EXPLORING CULTURAL HISTORY

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Essays in Honour of Peter Burke

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Peter Burke (born 1937) was educated at St Ignatius's College, London, and St John's College Oxford. He was one of the first junior lecturers to be appointed at the University of Sussex, where he remained for 17 years (1962–1979). He moved to Cambridge in 1979, where he eventually became Professor of Cultural History. He retired from the Chair in 2004 but remains a Life Fellow of Emmanuel College. He is married to the Brazilian historian Maria Lúcia García Pallares-Burke. He has been a visiting teacher or researcher in Berlin, Brussels, Canberra; Groningen, Heidelberg, Los Angeles, Nijmegen, Paris, Princeton and São Paulo. He is a Fellow of the British Academy, Member of the Academia Europea and PhD (honoris causa) of the University of Lund. He has lectured in most European countries, as well as in China, Taiwan, India, Japan, the USA, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. He has published 25 books and his work has so far been translated into 31 languages. For most of his career he has worked on the cultural and social history of early modern Europe, but his current project is a social history of western knowledge from the Encyclopédie to Wikipedia.

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Preface and Acknowledgements

The aim of this volume is to assess the legacy of Peter Burke's contribution to cultural history by many of those who have worked with him in the past as doctoral students or long-term associates. *Exploring Cultural History* also offers homage to Peter, casting new light on unexplored aspects of his career. Accordingly, the editors invited authors who would seek to explore the boundaries and possibilities of cultural history in their respective fields of expertise. Each of the contributions is meant as an occasion for engaging with the wider issues of the methods and problems of cultural history, but also, when relevant, with Peter Burke's contributions to each chosen theme. It is typical of Peter Burke's generosity and infinite curiosity that he wanted as many contributions as possible to be included in this book.

The chapters were first presented at a successful and well-attended international conference at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, which secured the support of the British Academy and the Trevelyan Fund of the Faculty of History at the university. We are grateful to both for their generous support. We would also like to thank a number of conference speakers whose contributions are not included in this collection: Rudolf Dekker, David Gentilcore, Gábor Klaniczay, Joanna Kostylo, Peter Stallybras, Lotte Van de Pol and Johan Verberckmoes. Alex Bamji deserves special thanks for her help during the conference and Maria Lúcia Pallares-Burke for organizing an extraordinary evening at Emmanuel College. We are also grateful to Ivan Gaskell for his enthusiastic participation, and to Felix Waldmann for assistance with the book's index and with correcting the text. Finally, we would like to thank all authors not only for their contributions, but also for their patience in the final stages of the editing process.

Melissa Calaresu, Filippo de Vivo and Joan-Pau Rubiés

Introduction
Peter Burke and the History of Cultural History[1]

Melissa Calaresu, Filippo de Vivo and Joan-Pau Rubiés

From the late 1970s to the beginning of the twenty-first century, cultural history has been at the heart of the transformation of historiography. In part, this simply reflects an expansion in the range of themes and sources that interest historians. The traditional focus on political history and, to a lesser extent, economic history, religious history and the history of ideas, has been overtaken by an interest in new themes and new sources, or by the re-evaluation of themes and sources traditionally considered quite marginal. These range from the history of books and reading, patronage, collecting, food, consumption and gifts, to the history of sexuality, criminality, travel, medicine and botany, for example. This thematic expansion is evident both in academic scholarship and in the genres of popular history. However, the central place that cultural history now occupies is more than just a matter of giving priority to such formerly obscure topics. Cultural history is flourishing as an added dimension to the way we understand the traditional fields of political, economic and even military history. More generally, it permeates much of what we now understand as social history. Finally, cultural history is also at the heart of the coming together of a variety of traditional disciplines that for too long lived separate existences – sometimes trying to develop a dialogue, but too often awkwardly. These include anthropology, art history, the history of literature, the history of philosophy and the history of science. In this way, cultural history has provided a meeting ground for a variety of interests and methodologies.

Because culture, broadly defined, encompasses both high and low, elitist and everyday, conditioning all human endeavours, its history offers a way of refining our understanding of how different spheres of the human past relate to each other. We could also say that, because cultural history involves both practices and representations, it lies at the heart of issues of historical agency. The 'New Cultural History' implies, in fact, a rejection of an earlier twentieth-century tradition by which 'culture' could be separated as a distinct layer of the past, some kind of

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[1] Although we have jointly discussed and edited this introduction, Melissa Calaresu is responsible for writing the section on 'Images'; Filippo de Vivo, the sections on 'Historical Anthropology' and 'Politics and Communication'; and Joan-Pau Rubiés the opening section and the section on 'Cultural Encounters'. We are extremely grateful to Mary Laven for her comments.

additional superstructure to the fundamentals of economic, social or political change. Hence, here we define the New Cultural History rather broadly. We define it as the diverse historiography which, from the 1980s – and often developing from the impact of historical anthropology – has sought to understand different aspects of culture (representations, rituals, discourses, values) through close interaction with other historical disciplines (for example, social and political history), as opposed to simply focusing on the traditional products of 'high culture', art, literature and philosophy.[2]

Of course, cultural history has not been invented in the last three decades. In fact, as we shall see, it has a long and fascinating pedigree. However, its recent rise to prominence is of obvious significance and deserves some further reflection. Peter Burke has been at the heart of this transformation. His many works deal with topics as varied as Renaissance historiography, images and propaganda, popular culture, languages, communication and translation, cities and courts, and cultural hybridity, to name but a few. These works constitute a remarkably wide-ranging exploration of the varieties of cultural history in early modern Europe. Peter Burke has not only innovated in all these areas, he has also pushed the boundaries of what cultural history can be about, as well as undertaking a parallel reflection on the more theoretical aspects of the discipline.

Given this thematic breadth, there is, of course, a danger that cultural history ends up becoming an ill-defined field without a clear core. The fact that so many historians seek to cultivate it, and from such different angles, is not necessarily a good thing, especially as new boundaries are being constantly explored. What exactly is cultural history? In a new introduction to the second edition of what has been possibly his most influential book, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (originally published in 1978), Peter Burke suggested that:

> cultural historians might usefully define themselves not in terms of a particular area or field such as art, literature and music, but rather of a distinctive concern for values and symbols, wherever these are to be found, in the everyday life of ordinary people as well as in special performances for elites.[3]

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[2] See also the discussions in Lynn Hunt, *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 1–22, and Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge, 2004; 2nd edn, 2008), pp. 51–76, who offers his own discussion of the 'new' cultural history as a paradigm distinct from both social and intellectual history, although often echoing the earlier concerns of Aby Warburg and Johan Huizinga. Burke emphasizes its diversity, wide range of topics and theoretical concerns.

[3] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (2nd edn, Aldershot, 1994), pp. 18–19; reflections based on a paper delivered in 1988. In this definition, interestingly, Burke was offering a direct parallel to Keith Baker's definition of intellectual history as a 'mode of historical discourse' rather than a distinct field of enquiry; ibid., p. 18.

While the exploration of *varieties* of cultural history (to echo the title of another popular book)[4] is perhaps the most distinctive feature of Burke's *oeuvre*, the emphasis on *values and symbols* constitutes the thread that unifies it. This however still leaves a few potential problems, to which Peter Burke has repeatedly returned. Jacob Burckhardt and Johan Huizinga, often considered the founding figures of the discipline, were concerned with capturing the spirit of past ages – the specific patterns of culture of each epoch and society. But they could be accused of being arbitrary (or 'impressionistic') in their choices and overly subjective (or 'presentist') in their interpretations. This criticism can be met, at a basic methodological level, with a more systematic use of sources and careful contextualization. Arguably, Aby Warburg, an independent scholar influenced by Huizinga, already pointed in that direction with his detailed studies of the transmission of the classical tradition in Europe, with emphasis on rhetorical models and mental schemata. Such a strategy was refined and expanded by Erwin Panofsky, Ernst Gombrich (albeit from a somewhat critical stance) and others. Many of these scholars were associated with the activities of the Warburg Institute. Having transferred to London after the rise of Nazism, the Institute today still provides a meeting ground and unique resource for art historians and historians of philosophy and classical learning working on the continuities and transformations of the European classical tradition.

The exact relationships between rhetorical codes (artistic, literary or ritual) and mental processes (language and mental images) have not always been successfully made clear. That is to say, historians working on schemata may sometimes have been tempted to assume that any artistic or literary representation simply corresponds to a psychological perception. However, the focus of the Warburg tradition on hidden assumptions and mental habits has had the obvious merit of inviting a disciplined use of sources in the 'historicization of the subjective'. That is, it has demanded reflection on the psychology of perception as well as a commitment to erudition. At least one of Peter Burke's monographs – his study of the reception of a key Renaissance text, Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (*The Fortunes of the Courtier*, 1995) – can be seen in this light as an application of the idea that, for historians, audience response is no less important than authorial intentionality. Understanding this process requires going beyond the mere idea of influence (such as in 'Castiglione was influenced by Plato in his dynamic adoption of the dialogue form'). Instead, the challenge is to retrieve the particular cultural codes underlying the acts of translation, imitation, criticism and adaptation – something similar to Warburg's 'schemata'.

The German tradition of cultural history inaugurated by Burckhardt found this possible avenue of development (and many North American scholars who practised cultural history in the twentieth century also had German roots). However, the most common and influential criticism of the great tradition has focused on its Hegelian assumptions as expressed by the idea of *Zeitgeist*, that is, on its idealism.

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[4] Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Ithaca, 1997).

Cultural historians adopting a Marxist (materialist) perspective, for example, have often emphasized the people rather than the elite, ideology rather than form, and social conflicts rather than consensus-building or cultural homogeneity. While in its cruder forms Marxism subordinated culture to social conflicts driven by economic constraints (the famous notion of 'infrastructure'), some more sophisticated historians, many influenced by Gramsci, sought to approach culture as an agent of social change by emphasizing the perspective 'from below'. And, yet, it would be simplistic to attribute the 'turn to society' that characterized much of the cultural history of the twentieth century to the exclusive influence of this Marxist critique of, and partial alternative to, the idealist tradition. Arguably, some of the roots of a turn to social dynamics were found in the thought of sociologists such as Max Weber and Norbert Elias (whose *Civilizing Process* of 1939 is a key essay in early modern cultural history). Meanwhile in France the *Annales* school developed over four generations a new emphasis on collective mentalities and the *imaginaire* (the social imagination) that, without calling itself cultural history, has contributed a great deal of detailed work to its expanding frontiers. One of Peter Burke's most obvious contributions has been to create a channel of communication between these different traditions in the English-speaking world. By conducting research that draws from a variety of sources and methodologies (backed by an extraordinary knowledge of European languages) and through a unique capacity for elegant synthesis (as the numerous translations of his many books testify), he has effectively brought together the German thesis and the French resistance to it in an expanding field of scholarship.[5]

It is obvious from the above that one of the strengths of Peter Burke's exploration of the range and nature of cultural history is an awareness of the history of the discipline. As he himself put it in one of his felicitous phrases, 'although cultural history has no essence, it does have a history of its own'.[6] This may look at first sight a mark of his historiographical eclecticism. Arguably, it was also brought about by a more specific engagement – an interest in the Renaissance, and especially with 'the Renaissance sense of the past' – at the start of his career. In a classic article first published in 1968 and revised in 1994 and 2001, Burke emphasized the emergence of a sense of anachronism among humanist writers ('from Petrarch to Poussin') that represented an element of discontinuity from the attitudes to the past prevalent in the Middle Ages.[7] This could be said to fit in with Jacob Burckhardt's idea

[5] In reality, of course, as is implict in the discussion above, no simple division into national traditions can accurately reflect the complex web of influences that have led to the emergence of cultural history in the twentieth century broadly as a dialogue between ideas and society.

[6] Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, p. 3. Typically, this book – in effect a survey of basic trends in cultural history up to the present and even immediate future – is also the sketch of a history of modern cultural history.

[7] 'The Sense of Anachronism from Petrarch to Poussin', in Chris Humphrey and W.M. Ormrod (eds), *Time in the Medieval World* (York, 2001), pp. 157–73. Burke's 1968 article is

that the Renaissance represented some kind of modernity. It appears all the more important because so much of Burckhardt's interpretation of the Renaissance as an age of individualism, renewal and modernity has otherwise been refuted, or at least heavily qualified (by Burke himself, among many others).

However much we wish to qualify the chronology of the emergence of this European sense of distance from the past by stretching it back to the twelfth century and forward to the present, the sensitivity to cultural change that emerged among scholars and artists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially in Italy, constitutes 'an important event in European cultural history', one which has probably guided Peter Burke in his own multifarious research. In effect, a detailed knowledge of the history of cultural history has allowed Burke to develop an appreciation of the subtle continuities, and also the ruptures, between the humanist practice of history and the subsequent evolution of historiography in the west. For example, humanists were attached to a classical idea of history that emphasized the dignity of the subject matter and paid most attention to its rhetorical power. However, the history of everyday life came to be cultivated almost by the back door; that is, through antiquarian research (philological, ethnological and archaeological). This is precisely because humanists increasingly sought to understand the classical world in its distinctiveness. The study of ruins, coins, medals and inscriptions might initially have seemed little more than auxiliary to the grand narratives of sacred and political history, for example by assisting the creation of more robust and critical chronologies. But the classical models of historical ethnography (Herodotus), geography (Strabo) and natural history (Pliny) also stimulated a more ambitious approach by which some kind of cultural history – what we might retrospectively define as a history of civilization as a 'way of life' – could emerge.

We could add to this antiquarian impulse the importance of the great discoveries of the early modern period, which led to a great deal of writing about colonies, empires and the non-European societies encountered, potentially challenging the Eurocentric perspective of universal historians. Hence classical antiquities and barbarian antiquities all contributed to the early modern widening of historiography. As Peter Burke wrote recently, an excessive 'Foucauldian' emphasis on the creation of the discipline of anthropology in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – around the idea of the modern western invention of the primitive, for example – could be as dangerous as the Whiggish tendency to interpret early modern antiquarianism as the mere prelude to modern cultural history.[8] One of the peculiar qualities of Peter Burke's wide-ranging exploration of the boundaries between cultural history and its many parallel disciplines – art history, literary history, sociology and anthropology – is precisely this acute awareness of the richness and complexity of their shared past.

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best known through his subsequent book, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past* (London, 1969).

[8] 'From Antiquarianism to Anthropology', in Peter N. Miller (ed.), *Momigliano and Antiquarianism: Foundations of the Modern Cultural Sciences* (Toronto, 2007), pp. 229–47.

The main direction of cultural history in the twentieth century has been from an analysis of representations as expressions of the 'spirit' of each society and age which dominated up to World War II, to a growing interest in the meaning and values expressed by social practices, a shift to which various groups contributed (Marxists and the *Annales* school included). By the 1980s, a broad confluence had taken place by which many practitioners of social history incorporated the insights from cultural history, mainly as influenced by the anthropologist's interest in decoding culturally specific practices. That is, the social historian sought to understand past societies more subtly by isolating assumptions that were specific to time, locality and class. In a similar fashion, since the 1980s a number of political historians have become increasingly keen to understand political culture. They are keen to investigate systematically those assumptions that help contextualize better political action (whether in the early modern city or at the early modern court) and interpret its manifestations in discourse, art and ritual. The study of representations has been revived as part of a history that sees the social *imaginaire* as crucial not only to the quality of life experience but also to political action. (In this respect many cultural historians, often working in parallel with literary critics, have picked up, expanded and made more subtle the old concept of ideology.) Representations not only reflect reality, they also construct it. As Peter Burke noted, one of the major criticisms that some practitioners of the New Cultural History have faced is that this emphasis on the power of culture to create social realities has been excessive. Social history and cultural history have worked in partnership; but there remains a central tension between realists, sometimes accused of 'essentialism', and constructivists. The latter's emphasis on the 'invention of tradition' can lead them to ignore the fact that cultural creativity is always constrained not only by social and economic contexts, but also by the cultural materials available. Between these extremes, Burke has suggested a middle course in which historians explore the limits of cultural plasticity, and tradition is understood as a process of continuous creation, neither fixed nor totally new.[9]

Another source of tension between social and cultural history involves the relationship between structure and agency. As David Hopkin notes in his illuminating chapter for this volume, cultural historians of the early modern period were initially motivated by a humanistic desire to give those people of the past usually excluded from the main historical narratives – peasants, women, children and 'deviant' types – their own perspective and agency. However, this 'history from below' has to face up to many challenges, from the indirect nature of many of the available sources (given the elitism of literacy) to the need to acknowledge the importance of structural constraints without losing sight of the individual. At heart, the problem of large-scale historical causation, and the semi-autonomous role of culture in shaping it, remains especially difficult. Hopkin goes further than just identifying this problem; he also offers a suggestion of what might be achieved by adapting the concept of 'ecotype', originally formulated by historians of folklore,

[9] Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, p. 101.

in this case with reference to the French peasantry of different eco-regions. The ecotype is here presented as one conceptual strategy (to be set alongside others such as ideologies, mentalities and language-games) for connecting cultural forms to social and economic environments. It is a strategy which offers enough room to capture the particularity of cultural forms in oral folklore without reducing the analysis to something as general as 'class' (in this case the peasant class) – not a very helpful category when dealing with such a vast section of early modern European societies. The cultural ecotype seems to be able to encompass both the micro and the macro, and seems to make sense in contexts where the socio-economic ecotype also makes sense (against the default option of the embryonic nation state as a unit of analysis). It remains to be seen whether it can capture the dynamic element of the cultural domain or, in Hopkin's own words, an engagement with social reality rather than a reflection of it.

In this history of disciplinary confluences or interactions, the most puzzling missed encounter has probably been between cultural history and intellectual history. Peter Burke has commented on this in relation to the emergence of the New Cultural History. He uses Jane Austen's famous contrast between 'sense and sensibility' to suggest that the issue is one of focus. Intellectual history, working on systems of thought, is here understood to be more serious and precise, while cultural history, dealing with mentalities and feelings, would be vaguer but also more imaginative.[10] It may be true that, at a time when almost every possible subject seems to have had its cultural history, a lack of analytical rigour is a potential flaw, through imperfect contextualization or, for example, when practices and representations are not distinguished systematically enough.[11] However, many cultural historians are no less serious and precise than the best intellectual historians, although they usually seek to address different questions. In this context, we may note that the New Cultural History, as defined by Lynn Hunt, has been influenced greatly by the linguistic turn and is not averse to theoretical reflection. It often engages not only with anthropology (Clifford Geertz's 'thick

[10] Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, p. 52.

[11] The potential for analytical looseness, including a substitution of abstract theory for rigorous methodology, was the focus of the debate launched by Peter Mandler with his call for a stronger sense of discipline and precision. See Peter Mandler, 'The Problem with Cultural History', *Cultural and Social History*, 1/1 (2004): 94–117, and vigorous responses to it by Colin Jones and others in subsequent issues of the same journal. Mandler's examples are mainly nineteenth century, but early modern cultural historians have often made similar points concerning the need to contextualize cultural representations in terms of production, diffusion and reception; the importance of paying due attention to the historical reality out there (against the temptation to reduce everything to a text); and the need to re-engage in a dialogue with the social sciences. Hence, as Colin Jones notes in his contribution to the forum, 'Peter Mandler's "Problem with cultural history", or, is playtime over?', the cultural turn has produced works of great quality, for example in early modern French history, which are perfectly aware of such pitfalls and avoid them; *Cultural and Social History*, 1/2 (2004): 209–10.

description' of local cultural systems has been particularly inspirational) but also with feminist theory, sociology and philosophy (and in this respect Foucault, Elias, Habermas and Bourdieu have exercised a great deal of influence).[12] How appropriate this use of theory is depends of course on each case. One might argue, for example, that a 'Foucauldian' approach occasionally obscures the role of individual agency, a tendency some cultural historians have themselves reacted against (and there are, of course, various ways of reading Foucault). As for the continuing validity of studying the 'great men', the study of popular figures such as Menocchio and Martin Guerre has not entirely displaced the need to understand the mind of judges and inquisitors. And, arguably, cultural history is at its most incisive when it makes it possible for us to understand how Jean Bodin could have written both the deeply intolerant *Demonomanie des sorciers* and the remarkably eirenic *Colloquium Heptaplomeres*. Peter Burke himself has also written what can be best defined as intellectual biographies, from Montaigne to Gilberto Freyre, not to mention works on Tacitism and the history of historiography. It is quite possible that some missed opportunities for a more systematic engagement may owe more to specific personal choices than to any inner disciplinary logic or necessity.

As we have seen, cultural history has had at various moments a clear vocation to embrace ideas as part of its remit, either within the tradition of the Warburg Institute (let us think of figures such as Aby Warburg himself, or Frances Yates) or by various generations of North American scholars trained in a parallel tradition (consider Anthony Grafton). Although there is certainly a distinct idealist tradition of the history of ideas (represented, for example, by Arthur Lovejoy) which tended to emphasize the lasting importance of 'unit ideas' over cultural practices, the dominant tendency of intellectual history at the end of the twentieth century was represented by the 'Cambridge school' (most often identified with Quentin Skinner), which claimed to do exactly the opposite and which flourished broadly in parallel with Peter Burke's many years of teaching at the University of Cambridge. What is most distinctive of this Cambridge school is an emphasis on offering contextualist interpretations of texts and ideas through a kind of 'linguistic turn' by which both major and minor texts were to be seen as 'utterances', that is, as social performances whose original sense could only be understood in relation to the conventions of particular literary and political contexts.[13] It may be argued that

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[12] Lynn Hunt made those influences explicit in her introduction to the timely collection *The New Cultural History* (see n. 2 above). In particular, the idea was that the lack of focus of the *mentalités* of the French *Annales* school, already denounced by practitioners such as François Furet and Robert Darnton, might be overcome through the inspiration of Geertz, Foucault, Bourdieu, Bakhtin or Derrida. However it was too early to tell what master narrative could be offered to replace Marxism and the *Annales* (and it is the difficulty of offering such kind of master narrative that makes Peter Burke's synthetic contributions all the more valuable).

[13] See especially the classic statement of Skinner's methodology in 'Meaning and understanding in the history of ideas', reprinted and scrutinized in J. Tully (ed.), *Meaning*

in theory this approach could have led to a convergence with the desire of many cultural historians to restore the contexts of interpretation for the production, transmission and reception of images, texts and social actions. However, the fact is that the history of ideas approach has tended to privilege political thought over other ideas, and texts over other forms of cultural communication. Within this narrower field it has often drifted back towards the traditional emphasis on those great canonical thinkers whose long-term significance is most obvious.[14]

By contrast, most cultural historians have felt uneasy with the perceived elitism of historians of ideas, since to a large extent their sociological turn had led them to focus on widely shared ideas and practices, including those assumptions that remain hidden because they are unconscious. That is, cultural historians seek to understand popular as well as elite discourses and practices, or (perhaps most interestingly) their mutual interaction. For example, Maria José del Río Barredo's analysis of the evolution of the public worship of the viaticum (the cortege for the administration of communion to the sick) in this volume offers a fine illustration of how the political meaning of a religious ritual was not controlled by the monarchy that participated in it, but was also interpreted by the community – in this case the citizens of Madrid. By contrast, even those historians of ideas keen to pay attention to minor genres and authors have found it difficult to avoid placing the most sophisticated texts and 'utterances' at the centre of their analysis, sometimes begging the question of how widely shared, or indeed understood, they were.

And yet, even if cultural historians – including those involved in what came to be called the 'new' cultural history over the last 20 years – have been interested in a broader social spectrum and range of discourses than most historians of ideas, there remains a huge potential for cross-fertilization. This is because many of the claims made by cultural historians only acquire their full significance when set against the grand narrative that intellectual historians (here including historians of philosophy, science and political thought) continue to be best placed to offer. In particular, this grand narrative cannot be ignored by those interested in the

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and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics (Cambridge, 1988). Mark Goldie has noted that besides the well-known influence of the philosophy of language of Collingwood, Austin and the late Wittgenstein, Skinner was also under the influence of Max Weber: 'The context of *The Foundations*', in A. Brett, J. Tully and H. Hamilton-Bleakley (eds), *Rethinking the Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2006). See also Skinner's interview in Maria Lúcia Pallares-Burke, *The New History: Confessions and Conversations* (Cambridge, 2002).

[14] Quentin Skinner, however, has recently declared his interest in the sort of cultural history which places texts at the centre of analysis – understanding texts 'in the broad sense in which paintings and buildings no less than poems and philosophical treatises can be viewed and interpreted as texts' (interview conducted in London, 18 April 2008, Institute of Historical Research website, http://www history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/interviews/Skinner_Quentin html). It is, in fact, in relation to the analysis of such 'texts' – and that means most historical documents – that the cultural historian and the intellectual historian are bound to meet.

numerous early modern vernacular genres at the borderline between the elite and the popular, such as historiography, cosmography, ethnography and indeed a great deal of literary fiction. (Clare O'Halloran's contribution to this volume offers an excellent example of the latter.) Something similar could be said about artistic objects in relation to canonical models, both classical and modern.

The most basic point is that ideas matter to most cultural historians, even if the majority of them are not primarily interested in defining the significance of the contributions made by some great thinkers. A cultural historian may focus on Colbert's economic advice to Louis XIV (as Jacob Soll does in this volume) or perhaps on the transvestite autobiography of Abbé Choisy, rather than on (let us say) the theological ideas of their contemporaries, Pierre Bayle and Pierre-Daniel Huet, and such a historian might emphasize the circulation of books rather than authorial intentionality. However, the cultural world – the Republic of Letters – to which all these figures belonged cannot sensibly be broken up.

There is, we may conclude, an underutilized potential for sharing some methodological concerns. For example, those cultural historians concerned with the lack of analytical precision of the concept of mentalities – which by seeking to identify collective and lasting ways of perceiving and thinking could make it difficult to distinguish the most creative, circumstantial and individual uses of cultural codes – can find a way forward by analysing a wide range of cultural practices (discursive, artistic or ritual) as 'language-games'; that is, by unearthing the generic codes and often hidden assumptions that make it possible to interpret how any particular 'cultural performance' functions within a context of social communication.[15] Peter Burke has himself insisted that what is most interesting in the study of cultural interactions is the problem of the *logic of appropriation*, that

[15] For a criticism of the concept of mentalities, see Geoffrey Lloyd, *Demystifying Mentalities* (Cambridge, 1990). Roger Chartier offered a valuable reflection in 'Intellectual history or sociocultural history? The French trajectories', in Dominick LaCapra and Stuart Kaplan (eds), *Modern European Intellectual History* (Ithaca, 1992). In general the vagueness of mentalities can be interpreted as a negative legacy of structuralism. Peter Burke has effectively defined the main problems of the history of mentalities under four propositions: the tendency to overestimate intellectual consensus in a past society; the difficulty of explaining change when so much effort is devoted to establishing shared assumptions within an almost reified cultural system; the (occasional) tendency to treat belief systems as autonomous; and the tendency to exaggerate binary oppositions between the traditional and the modern, or between the logical and pre-logical. He also suggests three remedies: to focus on interests, on categories or schemata and on metaphors (Peter Burke, 'Strengths and weaknesses of the history of mentalities', *Varieties of Cultural History*, pp. 162–82). For an advocacy of language-games – not at all the same as games played with words – in relation to these and other problems (in particular, the question of individual agency), see Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2000), preface.

is, 'who appropriates what for what purposes and with what consequences' – a far cry from any analysis of cultural systems devoid of particular human agencies.[16]

We may conclude this initial reflection by noting that the core of modern cultural history seems to be at the point of interaction between perceptions, values and ideas on the one hand, and social communication and agency on the other. However, the strength of the subject is best seen in its various peripheries – that is, in the many new themes that cultural historians have opened up, often in direct dialogue with other disciplines. The essays assembled in *Exploring Cultural History* have all been written in the spirit of exploring those boundaries. Like much of the New Cultural History, they are largely concerned with the study of representations, practices or their mutual interaction. We have grouped them roughly around the four key areas of historical anthropology, politics and communication, images and cultural encounters, all of which have been important to the development of cultural history throughout Peter Burke's career. Although the chapters only cover some of the many topics currently investigated by cultural historians, all of them serve to illustrate, we hope, Peter Burke's own conclusion that even if cultural history eventually goes out of fashion (although this does not seem to be happening yet), it should leave as a legacy an acute awareness that the documents and actions of the past cannot be treated as totally transparent, without regard for their symbolic significance; that is, for the need to interpret what they could have meant in a culturally distinct context.

Historical Anthropology

The section which opens this volume, including the chapter by David Hopkin which has already been discussed, is devoted to historical anthropology. Ranging from religious rituals in Golden Age Madrid (María José del Río Barredo) to the connections between honour and violence among the Knights of Malta in the sixteenth century (Carmel Cassar) and the reception of the Spanish sense of honour in Habsburg Naples (Gabriel Guarino), these chapters testify to Peter Burke's profound and wide-ranging influence on the study of early modern Mediterranean culture. They also demonstrate the continuing stimulation that historians draw from his inclusive approach to historical anthropology.

Burke's fascination with anthropological observation pre-dates his academic interest in history. By his own admission, awareness of cultural difference goes back to his own family. The son of an English-born Irishman, he lived in the same house as his Jewish maternal grandparents, so that 'crossing the hall was like crossing a cultural frontier'.[17] After leaving school, he served two years' military service in Singapore, where he kept a running diary (now in the Imperial War Museum) of

[16] Peter Burke, 'Cultural Studies Questionnaire', *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, 5 (1996): 183–9.

[17] Pallares-Burke, *The New History*, p. 129.

what might be described as fieldwork observation. In the late 1950s Burke went to Oxford, by most standards a conservative university, where the curriculum focused mainly on political history. Yet this was the exciting time when the first encounter between British historians and anthropologists was beginning to take shape. In 1961, Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard – himself educated as a historian and a fellow of All Souls – published the pamphlet *Anthropology and History*.[18] Keith Thomas, who taught Burke at St John's, reviewed it ecstatically,[19] and in the following years actively engaged in pushing the boundaries of history in a number of seminal articles which appeared in *Past & Present* and the *Times Literary Supplement*.[20] After Oxford, the University of Sussex (where Burke taught from 1962 to 1979) also had a crucially formative role. Anthropology was not in the curriculum there at first, but Evans-Pritchard was invited to give a series of lectures in 1965, and other anthropologists were members of staff (including David Pocock, Freddie Bailey and Peter Lloyd). Sussex was one of the most interdisciplinary research environments in the United Kingdom at the time, one where the word 'department' was famously taboo. Sociology was held as the meeting ground for all disciplines, the key to 'drawing a new map of learning' (in the words of Asa Briggs, one of the university's founders and later a vice chancellor, as well as the co-author of one of Peter Burke's books).[21]

From this rich experience, Burke drew at least two mental habits which have left a visible mark on all his vast work. The first is a tendency towards the self-conscious observation of his own and of other people's cultures, and consequently an acute awareness of both cultural differences and functional coincidences. This double process of de-familiarization and re-cognition is not only naturally conducive to an aptitude for anthropology, but has also helped him shape his numerous works of comparative history in a manner already sketched out by Marc Bloch.[22] And, like another important French intellectual, Pierre Bourdieu, a sociologist who first trained as an anthropologist, Burke also derived from this tendency a sharp eye for self-reflective anthropological observation: of himself, his milieu, his profession and institutions (no wonder he elaborated on some of this, under a pseudonym, in Bourdieu's *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*).[23] The second habit is an

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[18] E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Anthropology and History* (Manchester, 1961).

[19] Peter Burke, Brian Harrison and Paul Slack, 'Keith Thomas', in Burke, Harrison and Slack (eds), *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford, 2000), p. 8.

[20] Cf. Keith Thomas, 'History and Anthropology', *Past & Present*, 24 (1963): 3–24. Thomas's *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York, 1971), of course, drew heavily on Evans-Pritchard's insights.

[21] Asa Briggs, 'Drawing a New Map of Learning', in D. Daiches (ed.), *The Idea of a New University* (London, 1970 [first published 1964]), pp. 60–80.

[22] Marc Bloch, 'Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes', *Revue de synthèse historique*, 46 (1928): 15–50.

[23] William Dell, 'St. Dominic's: an ethnographic note on a Cambridge College', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 70 (1987): 74–8; cf. Peter Burke's interview with Alan

enthusiastic disposition towards interdisciplinary innovation. Straddling topics and methodologies seems almost natural in Burke, a pleasure as much as an intellectual commitment. As a former Sussex colleague remarked: 'the clue to Peter Burke is his indefatigable delight in seeking links … his passion is to build bridges'.[24]

Such tendencies informed Burke's work from very early on. While his never-completed doctoral research at Oxford (on the history of historiography) was in intellectual history, he soon became eager, in line with developments elsewhere, to insert ideas in a wider social and cultural context. Like many anthropologically minded historians of mentalities, Burke's first book, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past* (1969), compared attitudes to the past in medieval and primitive societies, drawing from the work of Franz Boas, Claude Lévi-Strauss and Bronislaw Malinowski, but also including references to Jack Goody's then recent observation of the Gonja in northern Ghana.[25] The book, which also made some tentative comparisons of European and Chinese historians, ended with brief concluding remarks ('highly provisional explanatory hypotheses which there is not space to justify') 'towards a sociology of historiography'.[26] Very soon after, Burke was shedding such hesitations. *Culture and Society in Renaissance Italy* (1972, partly born out of teaching a course on 'The Sociology of Art' and soon expanded as *Tradition and Innovation in Renaissance Italy: A Sociological Approach*) deliberately inserted the social history of art in a framework defined by sociological models and questions.[27] He again put into practice this interdisciplinary approach in a comparative study of seventeenth-century urban elites, a work heavily influenced by the reading of Vilfredo Pareto and Thorstein Veblen.[28] In 1980 Burke published a compact survey of the mutual contributions of sociology and history (later republished as *History and Social Theory*).[29] An invitation to sociologists and historians to work together, it was written as a manifesto and later turned into a textbook. For a generation now it has facilitated interdisciplinary dialogue and theoretically informed research questions.

Burke then was in an ideal position to participate in the surge of scholarly interest in the 1970s and 1980s around historical anthropology as a distinctive approach to the interpretation of European history. His earliest contribution to historical anthropology was an article on the 'social history of dreams' – one of the domains which, it may be noted, Keith Thomas encouraged historians to discover in 1963. It was published in the French *Annales* in 1973 as part of a

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Macfarlane of 31 July 2004, at http://www.alanmacfarlane.com/DO/filmshow/burke2_fast.htm (accessed on 17 September 2009).

[24] Daniel Snowman, 'Peter Burke', *History Today*, 49 (1999): 25.

[25] Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past*, pp. 18–19.

[26] Ibid., pp. 148–50.

[27] Burke, *Tradition and Innovation in Renaissance Italy: A Sociological Approach* (London, 1974).

[28] Burke, *Venice and Amsterdam: A Study of Seventeenth-Century Elites* (London, 1974).

[29] Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Cambridge, 2005).

special issue on history and psychoanalysis that also included an article by Alan Macfarlane, then one of the leading practitioners of historical anthropology. In order to study the significance of dreams, Burke argued, historians could learn more from the conceptual framework of anthropologists such as P. Radin and R.G. d'Andrade than from the psychoanalysis of Freud and Jung.[30] In 1978 Burke published *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, the first systematic survey of the subject on a European scale. The book was determinedly interdisciplinary, employing concepts and methods drawn from folklore studies, literature, history of art, sociology, as well as anthropology. The latter furnished the very definition of culture at the heart of the book: 'a system of shared meanings, attitudes and values, and the symbolic forms (performances, artifacts) in which they are expressed or embodied.' Burke acknowledged his debt to a wide range of anthropologists, including George Foster, Clifford Geertz, Max Gluckman, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Robert Redfield, Victor Turner and Eric Wolf. Less than ten years later there followed *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*.[31] This showed how he was broadening his research beyond performances and artefacts, to include notions such as space, rituals, honour and shame, clothing, everyday life, and to engage with concepts such as the rules of practice – how to be insulting, how to be polite, how to be a saint – and the cultural construction of reality (of gender, disease, the self, kinship, community).[32] Again he drew inspiration from a wide range of both social and cultural theorists, including Emile Durkheim, Erving Goffman, Arnold van Gennep and Marcel Mauss, as well as from the already mentioned Turner, Bourdieu and Geertz.

In these books, and in countless articles, Burke made a number of fundamental contributions to historical anthropology. First, he not only built bridges between disciplines, as has already been said, but also systematically explored the theoretical and practical framework in which sound interdisciplinary work could be done. The opening chapters of both *Popular Culture* and especially *Historical Anthropology* clearly set out the methodological peculiarities of the anthropological approach to history and carefully examined the problems related to sources. In dividing the latter as outsiders/insiders (rather than, say, primary or secondary); and in discussing the relative advantages of both, Burke not only suggested a useful and innovative typology to historians but also took part in an ongoing debate among anthropologists. Second, what is striking is not just the number of theoretical references but their diversity, drawing on functionalism, structuralism, social and symbolic anthropology alike. Burke's eclecticism shows that he self-consciously saw himself as a creative borrower, a *bricoleur*, or a 'poacher' in the words of Michel de Certeau, whose work he also knew very well and who in the same

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[30] Burke, 'Histoire sociale des rêves', *Annales, ESC*, 28 (1973): 329–42.

[31] Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge, 1987).

[32] Cf. Burke, 'Popular Culture between History and Ethnography', *Ethnologia Europaea: Journal of European Ethnology*, 14 (1984): 5–13, p. 5.

years was undertaking a similarly interdisciplinary project.[33] This also means that Burke's borrowing from social theory has never been uncritical, as shown by his now classic argument about the bicultural nature of the elites (who maintained the 'great tradition' but also took a vivid interest in the 'little' one), which did not simply borrow Redfield's distinction of two cultural traditions, but adapted it. The same applies to Burke's reliance on structuralism, which he always balances with an emphasis on long- and short-term change. This is the case of 'the reform of popular culture' by the godly and the elite and of the subtle annual modifications of supposedly unchanging rituals in early modern Venice and Rome, a theme which is developed in Maria José del Río Barredo's chapter on the political and dynastic importance of the rituals of the viaticum in Habsburg Madrid.[34]

Peter Burke contributed to moving anthropology, so to speak, from the periphery to the centre of history, shifting the focus away from the microhistory of marginal individuals to reconsider well-known places (cities, for example, rather than the countryside which had been the preserve of most historical anthropology[35]) and events (from the Venetian carnival to the Neapolitan revolt of Masaniello). Another, related, difference from most historical anthropologists working at the time is that Burke did not think that the conceptual framework of anthropology should only apply to the poorest and least articulate members of a society – the so-called subaltern classes. While, as David Hopkin's chapter reminds us, historical anthropology was first developed in conjunction with social historians' interest in history from below, Burke has repeatedly shown that it can also shed light on the culture of the elites, be it Genoese or Venetian patricians or Roman cardinals. The approach is developed in this volume in the chapters by Carmel Cassar on the identity and gendered sense of honour of the noble Knights of Malta in the sixteenth century and by Gabriel Guarino on the reception of Spanish cultural values among the Neapolitan aristocracy of the seventeenth century.

Politics and Communication

The subtitle of *Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy* is 'essays on perception and communication'. These have been key interests of Peter Burke for a long time. *Popular Culture* devotes a long chapter to the transmission of culture, discussing such professional and semi-professional figures as painters, performers, entertainers, puppeteers and musicians, preachers and schoolmasters; it also considers genres and media, poems, plays, chapbooks and the public and

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[33] Cf. Burke, 'The Art of Re-Interpretation: Michel de Certeau', *Theoria*, 100 (2002): 27–37.

[34] See, respectively, Burke, *Popular Culture*, ch. 8, and *Historical Anthropology*, ch. 12.

[35] See also Burke, 'Urban History and Urban Anthropology of Early Modern Europe', in Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (eds), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London, 1983), pp. 69–82.

private settings in which messages were transmitted (taverns, churches, squares). *Historical Anthropology* devotes attention to the discussion of the culture of the square, or *piazza*, as one where behaviour is dictated by the desire to impress, where facades count more than reality and gestures are interpreted as acts of communication. These may be vague approaches to communication, although we would prefer to treat them as inclusive (a point to which we shall return). But first, it is worth discussing three more specific ways in which Burke's work touches on the history of communication.

Since sometime in the 1970s Burke has been cultivating a long-running interest in the history of language and sociolinguistics. In 1987, the same year in which he published *Historical Anthropology*, he also edited with Roy Porter a collection of essays on the social history of language, the first in a series of three such volumes.[36] This interest no doubt had some roots in Burke's fascination with structuralism and semiotics, but there may well be personal motivations too. His father was a sometime professional translator, and Burke is himself an accomplished linguist, brought up in a partly bilingual household and now living in a fully bilingual one. Asked at his Cambridge job interview by a suspicious Geoffrey Elton how many languages he could read, Burke's reply was 'about a dozen'. No wonder he developed an interest in the history of translation (of histories into Latin, for example) as well as in the history of linguistic borrowings.[37] As a social historian, Burke has studied how different social, professional and religious groups spoke different codes; how particular varieties of language express, maintain and help create communities; and how some individuals may have moved across groups, or adjusted to different situations, by employing different registers.[38]

Peter Burke has always insisted that communication, as a form of social domination, can actively shape (not just reflect) social hierarchies. Appropriately, a second aspect of his work on the history of communication concerns the relations between communication and power, a theme that he may have discussed at length with his Cambridge colleague Bob Scribner (they ran a seminar together for many years). Burke has only occasionally devoted himself to such classic themes of political history as revolts or governmental institutions. But his 1992 book on the 'fabrication' of Louis XIV (a notion which he also discussed in relation to Charles V) made a major contribution to the study of political systems by analysing the political implications of the Sun King's representations.[39] It was

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[36] Burke and Roy Porter (eds), *The Social History of Language* (Cambridge, 1987); *Language, Self, and Society: A Social History of Language* (Cambridge, 1992); *Languages and Jargons: Contributions to a Social History of Language* (Cambridge, 1995). On the dating of Burke's interest in the field, cf. Burke, *The Art of Conversation* (Ithaca, 1993), p. vii.

[37] See the chapters in P. Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia (eds), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007).

[38] Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2004).

[39] Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven and London, 1992); cf. Burke, 'Presenting and Re-presenting Charles V', in Hugo Soly (ed.), *Charles V 1500–1558*

the first attempt to survey all the ways in which the image of Louis XIV was fashioned, maintained or criticized, by or for the king's contemporaries, through the combination of different media – textual, visual, architectural, ceremonial – througout his entire reign. Burke's work on myths and legends, cultivated or otherwise flourishing around particular events or institutions, was also related to this theme.[40] On the other hand, Burke has focused on certain individuals, particularly historians such as the Venetian Paolo Sarpi, as unmaskers of fabrications, 'anatomists of revolution'.[41] Finally, he also drew on Michel Foucault and Karl Deutsch's classic study of decision-making processes to analyse the importance of information gathering and use in secular and religious institutions.[42]

A third field is the history of information and the circulation of knowledge. Burke already demonstrated his interest for the then nascent field of the history of the book in the sections of *Popular Culture* devoted to the production, circulation and reception of chapbooks, as well as in his studies of the uses of literacy.[43] Later he also studied the circulation of specific works – the staggering fortune of Baldassare Castiglione's *The Courtier* and the underground diffusion of Jean Bodin's *Colloquium Heptaplomeres*.[44] In the early 2000s he developed this interest

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and His Time (Antwerp, 1999), pp. 393–475. For Burke's occasional forays into political history, see 'The Virgin of the Carmine and the Revolt of Masaniello', *Past and Present*, 99 (1983): 3–21; 'Mediterranean Europe', in János Bák and Gerhard Benecke (eds), *Religion and Rural Revolt* (Manchester, 1984), pp. 75–85; 'South Italy', in P. Clark (ed.), *Crisis of the 1590s* (London, 1985), pp. 177–90; 'City-States', in J. Hall (ed.), *States in History* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 137–53.

[40] For example, Burke, 'The Myth of 1453: Notes and Reflections', in M. Erbe et al. (eds), *Querdenken. Dissens und Toleranz im Wandel der Geschichte. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Hans R. Guggisberg* (Mannheim, 1996), pp. 23–30; 'The Black Legend of the Jesuits: An Essay in the History of Social Stereotypes', in S. Ditchfield (ed.), *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 165–82; 'Foundation Myths and Collective Identities in Early Modern Europe', in Bo Stråth (ed.), *Europe and the Other and Europe as the Other* (Brussels, 2000), pp. 113–22.

[41] Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past*; 'Introduction', in Paolo Sarpi, *History of Benefices and Selections from History of the Council of Trent* (New York, 1967); 'Some seventeenth-century anatomists of revolution', *Storia della storiografia*, 22 (1992): 23–35; 'Sarpi storico', in Corrado Pin (ed.), *Ripensando Paolo Sarpi* (Venice, 2006), pp. 103–9.

[42] Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge from Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge, 2000); 'Reflections on the Information State', in A. Brendecke, M. Friedrich and S. Friedrich (eds), *Information in der Frühen Neuzeit. Status, Bestände, Strategien* (Münster, 2008), pp. 51–63; cf. also 'The Bishop's Questions and the People's Religion', in *Historical Anthropology*, pp. 40–47.

[43] Burke, *Popular Culture*, pp. 91–148; *Historical Anthropology*, ch. 9.

[44] Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: the European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (Cambridge, 1995); 'A Map of the Underground: Clandestine Communication in Early Modern Europe', in G. Gawlick and F. Niewöhner (eds), *Jean Bodin's Colloquium Heptaplomeres* (Wiesbaden, 1996), pp. 59–71.

in two large surveys. One, *A Social History of the Media*, was written together with Asa Briggs, who appointed Burke to his first job and whose massive history of the BBC pioneered the history of the media.[45] The other, *A Social History of Knowledge*, built on the most innovative findings of the sociology of scientific knowledge, but also expanded it to other fields such as academic knowledge more generally, bureaucracy, geography, economics, history, law, archives and statistics.[46] In the present volume, Jacob Soll takes up this theme, and in the process traces an unexpected intellectual tradition by analysing how Louis XIV, and especially Colbert, tried to make sense of burgeoning financial and statistical information by appropriating methods drawn from merchant account-keeping rather than the classical political education of rulers.

Some notable and original contributions emerge from Peter Burke's large and diverse production. First, once again, he has helped historians build bridges to other disciplines. His joke that the history of language is too important to be left to linguists ought to be read as an invitation to both linguists and historians to talk to each other, and he has certainly brought such technical concepts as 'diglossia' and 'speech-domains' into mainstream history.[47] Second, in a scholarship dominated by the history of the book and by diatribes over the relative priority of manuscript over print (as though they were mutually exclusive), Burke's work is notable for its deliberately inclusive sense of communication – from the *Encyclopédie* to chapbooks, from libraries to taverns, from banter to silence.[48] He has consistently underlined the interaction of different media – printed, written, visual, oral – in the system of communication because, as he wrote, contemporaries were interested in the system as a whole, not in one of its parts. It is no wonder that one of the chapters in this volume, Daniela Hacke's exploration of political communication in the religiously mixed cantons of Switzerland, focuses on space itself as a means as well as a locus of communication. It is likely that Burke's inclusive understanding of communication derives from anthropology – his discussion of ritual as communication is particularly useful for historians – and his ethnographic attitude to communication certainly led him to consider the day-to-day experience of information and the rules underlying it. Perhaps in turn this attitude itself derives from his own frequent status as a non-native. As Peter Burke would say, speaking and listening to foreign languages naturally leads to combining linguistic and cultural observations (such as how to joke or order a drink).

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[45] Asa Briggs and Peter Burke, *A Social History of the Media: From Gutenberg to the Internet* (Cambridge, 2000).

[46] Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge*; cf. Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago, 1994).

[47] Diglossia is a sociolinguistic term for the hierarchical use of two languages, or two varieties of the same language, throughout a speech community. Burke, 'Introduction', in *The Social History of Language*, pp. 1–20.

[48] On the latter, see 'Notes for a Social History of Silence in Early Modern Europe', in Burke, *The Art of Conversation*, pp. 123–42.

Finally, from early on Burke always emphasized the reception as well as the production of communication. His first article was devoted to the fortune of ancient historians in early modern Europe, and in 1972 *Culture and Society in Renaissance Italy* combined attention for the authors of works of art (their recruitment, training, working space, status etc.) with sections on 'the people who looked at, listened to, bought, used and enjoyed them', including discussions on the rising market for books, prints and art, and on education, entertainment and taste.[49] *The Fortunes of the Courtier* developed this approach, discussing both quantitative data about the diffusion of Castiglione's work and the different meanings attached to it by different readers, a theme to which Herman Roodenburg returns in this volume. Similarly, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* did not just look at the king and his ministers, but also at their actual and intended public, and *A Social History of Knowledge* devoted a chapter to 'acquiring knowledge' and 'the reader's share'. In fact, as shown in Pärtel Piirimäe's chapter on the aims, mechanisms, and language of propaganda in Central and Eastern Europe, if we take texts (including political texts) as forms of communication we cannot limit ourselves to studying their production. We must also study how production and reception constantly interacted, and why and how authors targeted a certain public.

Too often, study of the history of communication tends to paper over conflicting elements in society, although recently some historians have tried to redress the balance.[50] Their call is in line with Peter Burke's own work, and for this reason we invited the contributors to the second section of this volume to explore the relations between politics and communication. In addition to Soll's, Hacke's and Piirimäe's chapters, already mentioned, Silje Normand discusses the cultural implications of using the metaphor of poison in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France to undermine and exclude rivals, foreigners and heretics on social, political or religious grounds. As she shows, the history of communication should take into account issues such as conflict and confrontation, which – as Peter Burke would say – are particular kinds of communication.

Images

In an important recent chapter on the representation of Charles V Peter Burke writes: 'all history involves representation, and all representations are part of history'.[51] As this quotation suggests, one of the key threads of Peter Burke's work has been his recognition of the power of representation in all its variety

[49] Peter Burke, 'The Popularity of Ancient Historians 1450–1700', *History and Theory*, 5 (1966): 135–52; *Culture and Society*, chapters 4 and 5, quotation at p. 112.

[50] Antoine Lilti, *Le Monde des salons. Sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2005); Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford, 2007).

[51] Burke, 'Presenting and Re-presenting Charles V', p. 393.

– visual, material and literary – as a political and social force in any society. He has been especially interested in the visual and material culture of representation; although his understanding of representation has extended beyond the visual, the chapters in this section of the book focus on visual images.[52] The cultural history of representations that he has developed over his career has allowed him to engage not only with the complexity of the production of images by elites but also with the multi-valency of their reception by a wider audience. He could not, as he has shown in the chapter on the triumph of Lent in his *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, simply leave the distinction between high and low or elite and popular culture untested. But, like his colleague Bob Scribner, he recognized the complexity in the creation and reception of messages, in this case, of reform; it was not simply as a one-way process of making and receiving.[53] As an early modernist, the necessity of using all kinds of visual representations to reveal the details of early modern lives not found in texts and also to uncover the dynamics within society was clear to Peter Burke early in his career. This interest has only gathered force in his later works, culminating with his 2001 book on the use of images as historical evidence, *Eyewitnessing* a synthesis which cuts across historical and methodological writings on visual and material culture around the globe from antiquity to the twentieth century.[54]

In the introduction to *Eyewitnessing*, Burke tries to explain why historians had taken such a long time to engage with images as historical sources. He cites Raphael Samuel, who explained the visual illiteracy of a whole generation of historians growing up in the 1940s (which would include Burke himself, who was born only three years after Samuel), without television and with an education both at school and university that privileged texts over images.[55] That, of course, is not entirely satisfactory as Burke himself remembers his visits to the National Gallery in London as a child and his first exposure to the Dutch paintings in that collection.[56] He has also had a long-term interest in film, as shown by his many comparisons with contemporary culture in his books. There is no doubt that Burke could not have done what he has without an attention to images, but his use as a cultural historian of all types of images (and not simply those traditionally regarded as 'art') has changed over his career.[57]

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[52] See, for example, Burke, 'Classifying the People: The Census as Collective Representation', in *Historical Anthropology*, pp. 27–39.

[53] Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 207–43.

[54] Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca/London, 2001). His approach to visual material is further synthesized into ten 'commandments' in Burke, 'Cómo interrogar a los testimonios visuales', in J.L. Palos and D. Carrió-Invernizzi (eds), *La historia imaginada: Construcciones visuales del pasado en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid, 2008), pp. 29–40.

[55] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, p. 10.

[56] Pallares-Burke, *The New History*, p. 135.

[57] Burke makes this distinction in *Eyewitnessing*, p. 16.

Burke's use of images began with that familiar locus of Anglo-American historical scholarship, the Italian Renaissance, which, for many historians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, marked the beginning of the modern era. The topic itself did not encourage a wider spectrum of sources than those found in the art galleries of Europe. The back cover of the paperback edition of *Tradition and Innovation in Renaissance Italy* (1972) cited a review from the *Times Literary Supplement* which claimed that the book would 'find a place as the Burckhardt of the 1970s'. This is not surprising when one considers Burke's own references to the Swiss historian's account of the Italian Renaissance and, for the most part, the sources and subject matter under analysis.[58] Building on the work of art historians such as Warburg, Panofsky and Gombrich, with the classical tradition at its core, and not moving his focus far from those painters and paintings that made up the canon of the Italian Renaissance, Burke attempted to place (or 're-place' in his words) the arts of the Renaissance 'in their original environment, the society of the time, its culture in the widest sense of that flexible term'.[59]

Like Burckhardt, and Huizinga and Hauser after him, Burke's focus remained the artistic production for a cultural elite. His sociological approach revealed much about the production of the arts and helped to reconstruct their reception by elite society in Renaissance Florence and Venice, but the framework itself remained very similar to Burckhardt's and to those interested in the classical tradition before and after 1860. There is, for instance, only one reproduction of an engraving in the whole book on the Italian Renaissance, and so we are far from the images from chapbooks and ceramics which we find in his later book on popular culture in 1978. He did, however, end the book on the Italian Renaissance with a comparison with the Netherlands and Japan. This kind of comparison across space and time has become characteristic of Burke's scholarship and a manifestation of his curiosity and interest in the wider world beyond Europe; it is a comparison which Burckhardt would certainly never have attempted (although Max Weber would have). Although Burke later made the distinction between images and art, his study of the Renaissance remained within the limits of the paintings and painters most familiar to readers of Vasari and Cellini.[60]

Through the teaching and work of Keith Thomas, however, Burke was aware of the wider meaning of culture and society and was interested in the complexities of the dynamics between elite and popular culture. However, Thomas's account of systems of belief in early modern England did not include any discussion of

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[58] Peter Burke, *Tradition and Innovation in Renaissance Italy: A Sociological Approach* (London, 1972), updated and revised as *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy* (Cambridge, 1987).

[59] Burke, *The Italian Renaissance*, p. 15.

[60] In a later essay he returns to the subject of Renaissance portraiture and, inspired by Morelli *via* Carlo Ginzburg, looks at gesture to write of society as much as of the sitter in 'The Presentation of the Self in the Renaissance Portrait', in *Historical Anthropology*, p. 167.

images.[61] Burke's pursuit of 'total history' (or at least a fuller account) required him to go 'beyond iconography', beyond decoding the meaning of the image for an elite with an intricate knowledge of the classical tradition. Instead, he tried to uncover alternative meanings in a wider social context.[62] It was his friendship and collaboration with Bob Scribner, author of *For the Sake of Simple Folk* (1981), which encouraged his interest in 'visual communication' to consider the fuller 'life' of images in society and what they can tell us about, for example, social practices and contemporary sensibilities in the early modern period.[63] The result of that influence and of his interest in finding a way between representation and practice was *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, the 1992 book which arguably, of all of his books, has had the greatest impact on the cultural history of images.[64]

Evidence of this impact is clear in several chapters in this volume: Thomas Worcester and Nicole Hochner both discuss the use of royal images by the Capetians and Valois, and Nicholas Dew elaborates further on Louis XIV's programme of fabrication. Like Scribner, Burke was as interested in reconstructing the detail of the production of these images as in their wider reception. His consideration of a wide range of sources – beyond the full-length portraits of kings and the palace of Versailles to what he terms 'the reverse of the medal', such as satirical poems and prints – has expanded the source material for court historians and encouraged them to think further, to the popular impact of royal 'propaganda' such as the statues of Louis XIV in public squares across France.[65] In a later extended piece on Emperor Charles V, Burke considered an even wider variety of sources in order to discern how and to what extent the messages so carefully elaborated and constructed by rulers and their 'assistants' were understood or 'read' by their subjects and citizens.[66] In these works, images and other types of representations come together.

Burke's later works then show an increasing willingness to engage in all kinds of media and material culture in his consideration of representations – from temporary wooden statues of Charles V to stills from Italian realist cinema – and to cross not only chronological limits as an early modernist but also geographical limits as a Europeanist by engaging with the material cultures of Asia and America. The images used in *Fabrication* actually extend his analysis rather than simply illustrating it. They have an active role in the argument, not unlike the engagement

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[61] In fact, Burke learned about iconography from Edgar Wind's lectures and seminars in Oxford, c. 1958–1960; personal communication from Peter Burke.

[62] For the chapter of this title, see Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, pp. 169–77.

[63] Peter Burke, 'Obituary: Robert W. Scribner (1941–1998)', *Renaissance Studies*, 12/3 (1998): 447–8.

[64] Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*.

[65] See Burke, 'The reverse of the medal' and 'The reception of Louis XIV', ibid., pp. 135–78.

[66] Burke uses the term 'assistants' to emphasize the collaborative nature of the 'self-representation' of rulers in the early modern period ('Presenting and Re-presenting Charles V', p. 439), a point particularly emphasized in Hochner's chapter in this volume.

and dynamic that he allows for the images created by Louis XIV within French society. In his writings on Charles V and Louis XIV, Burke's innovation is his emphasis on the detail of collaboration in royal 'self-representation' and on exploring further the dynamic between elite images and their popular reception. His work fully justifies the emphasis and consideration of 'propaganda' in Europe before 1789 (in fact, Hochner's chapter argues precisely for the abandonment of the term itself), allowing him to bridge the intricacies and innovations of royal *emblemata* and the varieties of publics 'reading' them – from the aristocrat attending the *levée* in the royal bedchamber at Versailles to the bystander under the gatehouse of Lyons as the king's *entrée* passes by.

The tension between representation and practice is at the heart of Burke's study and use of images in creating a fuller picture of early modern society. There is, on the one hand, a kind of intellectual humility in his generous acknowledgement of earlier practitioners of cultural history from Burckhardt to Huizinga and of art historians from Panofsky to Gombrich. On the other hand, his theoretical and methodological porosity has allowed him to engage with the writings of anthropologists and social theorists.[67] The chapter by Helen Hills on saintliness and place displays the innovatory frameworks that Burke has encouraged when moving beyond traditional attempts to construct the intrinsic meaning of a work of art. Peter Burke's approach, in fact, has not been static. While in his book on the Italian Renaissance he sought to place (or 're-place') images within their social context, his later work gives animation to the images themselves, and recognizes their potential as social and political forces.

Burke's place within the emergent fields of visual culture is less clear and it is important to reflect, briefly, on the early genealogy of more recent interest in the visual and its relationship to cultural history. Studies in visual culture often claim a similar provenance as Peter Burke's cultural history of images – Warburg, Gombrich and Panofsky, for example (although excerpts of their texts rarely make it into the 'readers' which define this field). Their link to the more sociological historical tradition, from Burckhardt to the *Annales* school, from which Burke's own work has developed, is much weaker. There are, however, two historical works which are central to the genealogy of studies in visual culture – Michael Baxandall's *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (1972) and Svetlana Alpers's *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (1983). The first was published in the same year as Burke's *Tradition and Innovation in Renaissance Italy*, and both Baxandall and Burke have more recently reflected on their shared intellectual formation, as well as the different disciplinary trajectories of their books.[68] In contrast, Alpers's book was reviewed

[67] See the final chapter on 'The cultural history of images', in *Eyewitnessing*, pp. 178–90.

[68] Baxandall in a 1994 interview characterized Burke as a 'socially minded historian', recently published in Alan Langdale, 'Interview with Michael Baxandall: February 3rd, 1994, Berkeley, CA', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 1 (2009): 10 (http://www.gla.ac.uk/

with some scepticism by Burke on its publication. In particular, Burke revealed his uneasiness about Alpers's characterization of the visual culture of the Italian Renaissance as 'narrative', which she uses as a foil to seventeenth-century Dutch visual culture as 'descriptive'.[69] This uneasiness, in fact, reveals where the strength of Burke's writings on images comes from. While receptive to the developing theorization of perception, reception and the mechanics of production, Burke has remained wedded to an empiricist historical tradition, a tradition often eschewed by scholars of visual culture. Burke shares the interdisciplinarity and internationalism of such scholars, and their engagement with theory and contemporary society – as his recent *Cultural Hybridity* (2009) shows. But Burke's openness to new theoretical frameworks does not lead him to abandon the project of situating images in their historical and social context.

Cultural Encounters

In the wake of the commemorations of 1992, but also in response to a longer-term trend towards global history, the history of cultural encounters (including the history of travel and travel writing, perceptions of 'otherness', multi-ethnic interactions in colonial contexts, translations, frontiers and the history of world history) has become one of the key growth areas of the subject. Since the 1990s Peter Burke has published a steady number of articles on many of these topics, as well a small book on cultural 'hybridity'. More recently he has also co-authored a biography of Gilberto Freyre, the twentieth-century Brazilian social thinker who, from a tropical 'peripheral' perspective, can arguably be considered a pioneer in the history of everyday life, as well as a major thinker on the subject of race, sex and slavery – especially remarkable for his eventually positive valuation of miscegenation (a revolutionary stance at the time *Masters and Slaves*, his key work, was first published in the 1930s).

One of Peter Burke's first contributions has been to emphasize the value of a broad comparative perspective. Even the Renaissance – the European moment par excellence, and a *locus classicus* for cultural historians since Burckhardt – deserves to be considered alongside similar 'renascences' in other civilizations, for example the Genroku era in Japanese cultural history.[70] Although a systematic comparison of this type is left to future empirical research, Peter Burke has offered

media/media_139141_en.pdf); and Burke reviewed *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Oxford, 1972) as the book on the Renaissance which had made most impact on him in *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 40/1 (2009): 52–4.

[69] *Journal of Modern History*, 55/4 (1983): 684–6.

[70] An idea first expressed in *The Renaissance* (1987) and defended again in 'Renaissance Europe and the World', in Jonathan Woolfson (ed.), *Renaissance Historiography* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 52–70. Here (p. 65) Burke clarifies, against criticism of Adriano Prosperi, that the distinctiveness of the European development is not

an interesting example in a parallel assessment of what the idea of a past Golden Age meant to the Ottomans and to Europeans.[71] More generally, he has also insisted on the theme of transcultural influences and transformations, albeit warning of the danger of exaggeration. The point is not to deny the distinctiveness of, let us say, European intellectual history, but rather to emphasize that the mechanisms of cultural change are often universal, while European culture has been shaped largely by its encounters, through borrowing or simply through reaction.

Concerning the classic question of the impact of the New World on the Old, for example, in the 1990s Burke came to support the 'minimalist' thesis already made famous by John Elliott and David B. Quinn that, up to the middle of the seventeenth century, the evidence suggests only a modest historiographical awareness of the significance of the discovery of America, by contrast with the different appreciation that became prevalent in the late eighteenth century in the works of Robertson and Raynal.[72] Going beyond this type of somewhat linear and progressive impact, Burke noted the perhaps more interesting circularity by which American cultures were first interpreted through the lens of classical accounts of barbarian peoples, only for the tables to be turned so that in the eighteenth century (in the work of Lafitau and Vico) Homeric Greeks could become primitives by analogy with modern Native Americans.

This emphasis on circularity might in fact be one distinctive characteristic of Peter Burke's contributions to the two dominant themes in the history of cultural encounters: the representation of cultural 'otherness' and the creative interaction between different traditions. For example, Burke's analysis of the description of the Mughal empire by the libertine philosopher François Bernier, one of the most influential travel accounts of the seventeenth century, sought to challenge the then dominant emphasis (in the wake of Edward Said's Foucauldian analysis of 'orientalism') on European stereotypes in the construction of the other – a kind of power strategy to silence the reality of difference. He did so through a contextualized reading of a travelogue written by a man who was mainly a guest working as 'cultural translator' under the patronage of a high-ranking Mughal officer. Burke's conclusion was that Bernier learnt to distance himself from his own culture through his observation of India, and that his more serious criticisms of India – despotic government and superstitious religion – must be read at least in part as ironic

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denied by global comparisons but, at the same time, that 'cultural revivalism' deserves a comparative treatment.

[71] 'Concepts of the Golden Age in the Renaissance', in Christine Woodhead and Metin Kunt (eds), *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age* (London, 1995), pp. 154–63.

[72] 'America and the Rewriting of World History', in Karen O. Kupperman (ed.), *America in European Consciousness* (Chapel Hill, 1995), pp. 33–51. For a recent discussion, with a slightly different take, see Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Travel writing and humanistic culture: a blunted impact?', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 10 (2006): 131–68.

denunciations of European tendencies, namely absolutism and 'priestcraft'.[73] To read travel writings as sources for cultural history is therefore to read them as evidence of attitudes and prejudices, without falling into facile general dichotomies between the west and the rest.[74]

In relation to practices, Peter Burke has also questioned a simple opposition between distinct cultural traditions, emphasizing on the one hand the huge human potential for hybridity, and on the other the social and economic conditions that make such hybridity possible. Chivalric models could be easily transplanted to New World settings by the European conquerors because the setting of a frontier society, with genuine ecological and anthropological novelty, weak institutional structures and a great deal of violence, stimulated an ethic of independence. In other words, transplantation was successful because the soil was fertile.[75] Carnival, on the other hand, can be analysed as a European ritual (Mediterranean and Catholic, to be more precise) that has been 'translated' into a Brazilian variety which is very different from its European models, mainly thanks to the African element. It stands as an example of cultural hybridity, one of the themes Peter Burke seems to have inherited from Gilberto Freyre. Just like Freyre, however, Burke is keen to insist that hybridity does not mean harmony and equality, as behind the unity of the communal celebration there still lurk the social hierarchies and the economic exploitation; and miscegenation, albeit more positive than extermination and apartheid, is often the result of the abusive position of masters over slaves.

Some of the chapters in this collection can be seen as contributions to this interest in encounters. Maria Fusaro's study of British rule over the Greek Ionian Islands formerly in the possession of the Venetian Republic shows that cultural borrowing does not exclude misunderstanding, and in fact can operate by the back door, in the context of negative stereotyping. In other words, adoption, ignorance and misunderstanding can all be part of the same process of encounter – in this case, through the complex practical dilemmas faced by an empire taking over not only a local culture, but also the legacy of a previous imperial power. In turn, Alessandro Arcangeli considers stereotypes about dancing savages in the early modern Atlantic encounter. He raises the question of whether the European experience

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[73] 'The Philosopher as Traveller: Bernier's Orient', in Jaś Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (eds), *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel* (London, 1999), pp. 124–37. The article, however, was first drafted for a conference in 1988, at a time when Said's influence was at its highest.

[74] See further examples in Peter Burke, 'Il fascino discreto di "Millain the Great" nelle memorie di visitatori britannici del '600', in '*Millain the Great*': *Milano nelle brume del '600* (Milan, 1989), pp. 141–52 [English version in *Varieties of Cultural History*, pp. 94–110]; 'Assumptions and Observations: Eighteenth-Century French Travellers in South America', in John Renwick (ed.), *L'invitation au Voyage* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 1–8; 'Directions for the History of Travel', in Lars M. Andersson et al. (eds), *Rätten: en Festschrift till Bengt Ankarloo* (Lund, 2000), pp. 176–98.

[75] Burke, 'Chivalry in the New World', in *Varieties of Cultural History*, pp. 136–47.

at home, as audiences in front of the stage, conditioned how exotic dances were represented, and whether negative prejudices about culturally unsophisticated peoples determined their interpretation. In a hierarchical view of the scale of civilization, the dancing peasant easily became associated to the dancing savage by the elite European observer. However, Arcangeli's analysis seeks to separate the empirical description of dancing practices by naked peoples – what we might call ethnography – from its negative valuation as an example of disorderly behaviour and loss of moral control, which only belongs to specific observers; although the tendency to do this seems to have increased over the period to the times of Lafitau. In effect, the discourse on dancing savages enhanced the European sense of a growing distance in relation to their own ancient past – the construction of the savage led to the construction of the primitive.

This antiquarian turn would, however, not remain stable, as often early modern constructions of the primitive became battlegrounds for the creation and demolition of local identities and national myths. Ireland offers a clear example of this problem, as Clare O'Halloran shows in her chapter on the fortunes of the myth of Irish Celtic civilization at the turn of the nineteenth century. While it is easy to distinguish a Catholic idealization of a Gaelic Golden Age from the notorious Anglo-Protestant image of Irish barbarism, some positions were more complex, as exemplified by a number by locally settled Protestant writers of the late eighteenth century, who in their criticism of English policy developed a liberal spirit towards the Irish tradition. This Protestant elite patriotism was short-lived, as the rebellion of 1798 put an end to many antiquarian enthusiasms. However, through her analysis of a number of romantic novels written by Irish Protestants, O'Halloran detects, behind the veneer of sheer antiquarian exoticism, a survival of the nostalgia for a native Irish culture that can be made compatible with English civilization. Not all writers, however, believed that Anglo-Irish reconciliation was possible on the basis of an Irish Catholic myth.

We can take the reflection further and say that what makes it possible for some individuals and not others to develop a positive, liberal attitude towards cultural hybridity seems to depend on complex circumstances and may be in itself a subject of historical research. In his essay *Cultural Hybridity* (2003), Peter Burke made it clear that his own personal experience of such mixtures (here identifying himself as a northern European marked by a passion for the Latin south, and as a historian consciously writing for an international audience) has been overwhelmingly positive, noting that cultural encounters encourage creativity and that the postmodern condition, where isolated cultures are becoming impossible, has many benefits.[76] However, there is no denying in his analysis that processes of cultural hybridization also leave behind losers, and are often accompanied by negative nationalistic and even xenophobic reactions. Cultural contact areas are of course fascinating, but they can also be areas of

[76] We follow the Portuguese (Brazilian) edition, *Hibridismo Cultural* (São Leopoldo, 2003). An English version has recently appeared as *Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge, 2009).

political tension and social marginalization, and the go-between of history is often a dislocated individual, someone with multiple identities and a precarious social position (perhaps a slave, a refugee or an exile) who does as best she or he can translating between cultures because no better options are available. However, when writing about hybridization Peter Burke leaves the historian behind and begins to speak also about the future, as a citizen of a globalized world. From this perspective he sees a future of hybridity rather than homogenization, a creolization of the world rather than the mere imposition of a dominant Anglo-American (western) culture across the world. It is tempting to see a Brazilian rather than a British insular perspective influencing this conclusion. Ángel Gurría-Quintana's fascinating contribution to this collection reveals the extent to which Peter Burke's interest in Brazil, from the carnival to Freyre, is part of a rather remarkable personal encounter of many years.

PART I
Historical Anthropology

Chapter 1
The Ecotype, Or a Modest Proposal to Reconnect Cultural and Social History

David Hopkin

'Historians might make more use of ecotypes', suggested Professor Burke to his student, myself, in a doctoral supervision more than a decade ago. Thus was initiated my own enthusiasm for this useful word, common to the vocabulary of the physical sciences, social sciences and the humanities. In this chapter I would like to suggest that the ecotype is a concept that could help bridge the gap between social history – that is a history informed by social science methodologies – and the cultural history that has become increasingly dominant in the last couple of decades. Of course not all readers will recognize the existence of this gap, or consider reconciliation between the sub-disciplines desirable. My own perception is no doubt conditioned by my field of research – modern French history – because among French historians the rise of cultural history in the 1980s was undoubtedly experienced as a crisis that not only undermined their accepted categories and chronologies, but also dissolved a unified conception of how things happened (or rather, how things stayed the same, given their interest in the structures of the *longue durée*).[1] There are many in France who feel this crisis is as yet unresolved.[2] However, such concerns are not limited to the French hexagon, and here my perception has also been conditioned by my position as one of the editors of *Cultural and Social History.* As the journal of the Social History Society it is overtly committed to 'emphasizing the ways in which the "cultural" and the "social" are mutually constitutive and informing', but it is easier to state this as an objective than to realize it in practice.[3] Numerous and ongoing debates within the journal's pages demonstrate that Anglophone historians are equally cognizant of

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[1] See, among others, François Dosse, *L'histoire en miettes* (Paris, 1987); Gérard Noiriel, *Sur la 'crise' de l'histoire* (Paris, 1996); Roger Chartier, *Au bord de la falaise. L'histoire entre certitudes et inquiétude* (Paris, 1998).

[2] François-Joseph Ruggiu, 'A Way Out of the Crisis: Methodologies of Early Modern Social History in France', *Cultural and Social History*, 6/1 (2009): 65–86. See also the response: Victoria E. Thompson, 'Working within the Crisis: Meditations on the Edge of a Cliff', *Cultural and Social History*, 6/1 (2009): 87–95.

[3] Padma Anagol, David Hopkin and Sean O'Connell, 'Editorial', *Cultural and Social History*, 5/1 (2008): 7–8.

the divide between social history and cultural history, and desirous for some way to bring them back into harmony.[4]

The emergence of such divisions might surprise because, as Peter Burke has argued, 'The cultural approach has grown out of the social.'[5] There are, no doubt, many varieties of cultural history, but here I am concerned with the type of cultural history in which I was trained at Cambridge in the 1990s by Peter Burke and Bob Scribner, and which drew on (and contributed to) third-generation annalistes, Italian microhistorians, history workshop style 'history from below', oral history and historical anthropology. All these approaches were reactions to the limitations of the kind of post-war social history that was more concerned with the factors that structured people's lives than with their ability to operate within and against those structures. This older kind of social history was concerned with aggregates rather than with individuals, and utilized quantitative methodologies derived from economics and sociology. It tended to depict the people of the past, and the illiterate masses in particular, as objects rather than subjects, as shaped by the means of production, Malthusian demographic constraints, technological limitations, geographical dispersal and so on. Class was an objective category that determined political and other forms of behaviour, rather than an identity the individual could choose to adopt. The *thèses d'état* of the 1950s and 1960s, supervised or examined by historians such as Ernest Labrousse and Pierre Goubert, depicted a pre-modern world that was pretty grim: a *longue durée* of low growth, high mortality and no way out. In response, the first generation of cultural historians were motivated by a humanistic desire to allow the people of the past, and in particular those people previously excluded from national historiographies such as women, peasants, children, itinerants and 'deviants', a greater degree of control over their own lives – some 'agency' to use the jargon.

This first generation of cultural historians also perceived problems in the assumptions about causation that underpinned quantitative history. Quantitative historians did not have to explain individual decision-making, they only had to look at the broad trends and relate these to other, usually economic factors. So patterns of migration could be explained by reference to the scarcity (and therefore value) of labour in one place compared with the over-supply (and therefore poverty) of labour in another. The trend from late to early marriage might be explained by the fact that household formation was no longer dependent on inheritance, but on wage-earning. However, given that the same factors affected everyone,

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[4] Peter Mandler, 'The Problem with Cultural History', *Cultural and Social History*, 1/1 (2004): 94–117, together with responses and reply. Similar debates were held in the 1990s in the pages of journals such as *Social History*, *History Workshop Journal* and *The Journal of Modern History*. The naming of the Social History's Society's new journal is itself a marker of these tensions.

[5] Peter Burke, 'Afterword: Revolutions and their Geographies', in David N. Livingstone and Charles W.J. Withers (eds), *Geography and Revolution* (Chicago, 2005), p. 357. This article also contains a plea for the ecotype concept.

historians needed also to account for those individual decisions that bucked the trends – those who chose to stay behind or those who married young despite the constraints placed on them. Examining such differences in behaviour shifted the focus away from the aggregate towards the individual, and again raised questions of agency, that is the ability to manipulate or resist the structuring forces that impinge on all.

The methods of cultural anthropologists offered historians glimpses of the ways in which subordinate social groups were able to bend or break out of their 'iron cages'. For cultural anthropologists the deployment of symbols characterized all aspects of human life, endowing all actions with meaning beyond the merely material needs of production and reproduction. And once one started looking for the symbolism in clothing, food, the organization of a room and all the other rituals of everyday life, it became apparent that even the most marginalized and oppressed exercised some influence over their circumstances. Even a slave could demonstrate their resistance to their position through, for example, their dress.[6] Such a cultural history through symbolic action opened up the history of those social groups that had the least access to written archives. As cultural anthropology had developed through participant observation of small groups, its methods were much more readily transferred to microstudies than to general histories.[7] The totalizing claims of histories of industrialization and the growth of the nation state were rejected in favour of the agency of individuals, and the power of the local, to resist, negotiate and refashion large-scale historical trends to suit their own ends.

A number of problems rapidly emerged, however, in the relationship between infant cultural history and its parent social history. The most obvious is that of scale: how can one reconcile the micro and the macro?[8] Large-scale historical change such as migration, urbanization, changes to family structure, the development of such phenomena as the teenager, the cohabiting couple and the single mother may all depend on innumerable personal decisions. But how is the agency of the individual enough to explain such massive social transformations? If the role of the individual is so important, why were so many of them making the same choices

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[6] Steeve Buckridge, *Language of Dress: Resistance and Accommodation in Jamaica* (Kingston, Jamaica, 2004).

[7] Although an enthusiast for historical anthropology, I have sometimes felt that the claim made by Clifford Geertz – undoubtedly one of the most influential scholars of the 'cultural turn' – that 'Anthropologists don't study villages … they study in villages', was a bit disingenuous: *The Interpretation of Cultures* (2nd edn, London, 1993), p. 22.

[8] Historians seem almost always to reach for geographical metaphors when trying to explain the relationship between the micro and the macro, between close study and panoramic view, rather than, as one might have expected from specialists in chronology, metaphors of duration. I particularly enjoy Marc Flandreau's metaphor of exploring the jungle by helicopter or on foot: 'Time on the Cross: How and Why Not to Choose Between Economics and History', in Pat Hudson and Rachel Bowen (eds), *Living Economic and Social History* (Glasgow, 2001), pp. 81–5.

at the same time? Once one gets beyond a certain number of historical actors, all agents convert back to 'patients', to use Robert Burton's terminology, the people to whom things happen rather than the initiators of action. In practice most cultural historians still rely on the categories derived from social science historiography, such as class, and the standard chronologies of historical change (industrialization, modernization) when they generalize beyond specific case studies. It is all very well to question such certainties in research, but it makes teaching about the past very difficult.

More problematic still was the growing independence of culture as a factor explaining historical change. Culture was no longer a method to explore the resistant behaviour of various social groups; rather it was culture that constituted those groups in the first place. If, for example, class was less an objective social category than a cultural identity, what was to prevent individuals from any social background choosing to adopt the same identity, or individuals from the same background adopting a multitude of identities? This has indeed been the fate of the social interpretation of the French Revolution of 1789 and, to a lesser extent, the subsequent revolutions of 1830, 1848 and 1871. Participants in these events may have used the language of social conflict between 'sans-culottes' and 'aristocrates', or between 'bourgeois' and 'proletaires', but membership of these groups was not defined socially, but through political culture. A noble could self-identify with the sans-culottes, just as the most menial of day-labourers could be labelled an 'aristocrate'. The historiography of revolutionary events in France, at least in the Anglophone world, is now dominated by the concept of 'political cultures', and while the origin and development of such cultures might be connected to socio-economic developments, they are not considered dependent on them.[9] Cultural revolutions follow their own historical dynamic.[10]

It is my hope that the ecotype concept might help untangle some of these problems, bringing the social and cultural, the macro and the micro, into closer alignment. I do not argue that it resolves the issue of historical causation, but it may be useful in reconnecting social and cultural change. My commitment to this

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[9] The literature on how cultural theory succeeded the 'social interpretation' of the French Revolution is abundant, but for particularly argumentative examples of how the language of social distinction can be incorporated into interpretations that foreground political culture, see Richard M. Andrews, 'Social Structures, Political Elites, and Ideology in Revolutionary Paris, 1793–94: A Critical Evaluation of Albert Soboul's *Les sans-culottes parisiens en l'an II*', *Journal of Social History*, 19/1 (1985): 71–112; and Michael Sonenscher, *Sans-Culottes: An Eighteenth-Century Emblem in the French Revolution* (Princeton, 2008). For the application of the concept of 'political culture' to nineteenth-century revolutions, see Sharif Gemie, *French Revolutions, 1815–1914: An Introduction* (Edinburgh, 1999).

[10] Colin Jones and Dror Wahrman, 'Introduction: An Age of Cultural Revolutions', in Jones and Wahrman (eds), *The Age of Cultural Revolutions: Britain and France, 1750–1820* (Berkeley, 2002), pp. 1–16.

term also signals my own allegiances as a self-declared 'social science historian', but my methodologies are borrowed from the most neglected, if most culturally aware, of the social sciences, that is folklore.

The Ecotype in Folklore

It was Carl von Sydow who first wrote about folkloric ecotypes, or in his formulation, oicotypes (one also sees oikotypes). Sydow borrowed the term from botany, where it denotes 'a hereditary plant-variety adapted to a certain *milieu* (seashore, mountain-land, etc.) through natural selection amongst hereditarily dissimilar entities of the same species'.[11] Sydow drew an analogy to special types of widely distributed traditions; that is versions restricted to one cultural sphere. To use a contemporary folklorist's definition, 'a folklore ecotype is a special version of a type of any folkloristic genre limited to a particular cultural area in which it has developed differently from examples of the same type in other areas, because of national, political, geographical and historical conditions'.[12] Such cultural areas are usually conceived of in geographic terms: Sydow talked of national, regional or even parochial ecotypes, and in general it is the spatial presentation of folkloric data that reveals the existence of ecotypes. But it is just as reasonable to think in terms of occupational, gender-specific or ethnic (for instance, within a multi-ethnic city) ecotypes.

Sydow illustrated his concept by reference to the geographical distribution of variant tale-types. Many well-known tale plots, including *Cinderella*, *Beauty and the Beast* and *Little Red Riding Hood*, are well known throughout the Eurasian landmass, if not the entire world, and so for comparative purposes are identified in folklorists' catalogues by designated type (Aarne-Thompson-Uther or ATU) numbers. But while basic plots are common to very wide areas, the way they are told in different regions shows considerable variation. For instance, to use one of Sydow's own examples, the folktale plot that goes by the generic title *The Princess on the Glass Mountain* (ATU 530) has been recorded all the way from India to Eastern Europe. But whereas in the German lands the princess is on a glass mountain, in Slavic traditions she can be found on a high tower, and in India upon a palisade. However, this tale had difficulty spreading further westwards (where

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[11] To use a more recent definition from the biological sciences, an ecotype is a 'locally adapted population of a widespread species. Such populations show minor changes of morphology and/or physiology, which are related to habitat and are genetically induced. Nevertheless they can still reproduce with other ecotypes of the same species': in Michael Allaby (ed.), *Dictionary of Ecology* (Oxford, 2006); *Oxford Reference Online*, accessed 7 January 2009.

[12] Jonathan Roper, 'Towards a Poetics, Rhetorics and Proxemics of Verbal Charms', *The Electronic Journal of Folklore*, 24 (2003): p. 44.

it is usually only found in much-altered forms) because, according to Sydow, 'it agrees ill with the traditions existing there'.[13]

Sydow did not go further in explaining why one ecotype found favour in one cultural area while another was rejected, other than to refer to the 'temper and other traditions of the people'. The reason for this neglect was that Sydow was engaged in his own argument within folkloristics against the Finnish school of diffusionists. The latter saw all folklore, and especially oral literature, as migratory, readily transcending political and linguistic barriers as it passed from person to person, village to village. It was the Finns who devised the tale-type indexes in order to track similar narratives across time and space. Sydow used their own tools to emphasis not the similarities but the differences. However, the mere task of identifying ecotypes was not enough for the post-war generation of folklorists; in the words of Roger Abrahams, one must also seek 'to know why it changed in that way at that place'. The ecotype, such as a variant tale, should be seen in relation to the entire cultural production of a particular group in order to discover 'the group's tropes, those elements toward which the creators and recreators of the group naturally (or culturally) are attracted'.[14] This is what Abrahams himself has done for the culture of African Americans within the northern industrial cities of the United States. The process of ecotypification, the way that a cultural artefact becomes adapted to a specific milieu, not only reveals the cultural preferences of the group but also connects those preferences to particular experiences.

Many cultural activities can be and have been described as ecotypes; not only genres of oral culture but card games, food preferences and even homemade technologies. However, it must be admitted that the ecotype concept has not been universally adopted even within folklore, despite repeated calls from leading figures within the discipline – such as Alan Dundes and Lauri Honko – to revive it.[15] There are a number of explanations for this. Folklore, along with all the other social sciences, has become increasingly fixated on the individual rather than the group, and so the search for variability has gone below the level of the cultural area to look at individual performers. Folklore, along with the rest of the humanities, has become more interested in cultural flux, hybridity and adaptability,

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[13] The hero of this tale is the youngest of three sons, who secures a magic horse and uses it to rescue a princess from an impossible situation. In fact Sydow's claim that the tale exists in distinct forms in different cultural realms (which is itself based on the 1928 analysis by Inger Boberg) is questionable; but it is the example he uses and so I have followed him. Carl W. von Sydow, 'Geography and Folk-Tale Oicotypes', in Carl W. von Sydow and L. Bødker (eds), *Selected Papers on Folklore* (Copenhagen, 1948), pp. 44–59.

[14] Roger Abrahams, *Deep Down in the Jungle: Black American Folklore from the Streets of Philadelphia* (new edn, New Brunswick, 2006), pp. 245–6.

[15] Alan Dundes, *Life is Like a Chicken Coop Ladder: A Portrait of German Culture Through Folklore* (New York, 1984), p. 2; Lauri Honko, 'Methods in Folk Narrative Research', in Reimund Kvideland, Henning K. Sehmsdorf and Elizabeth Simpson (eds), *Nordic Folklore: Recent Studies* (Bloomington, 1989), p. 37.

the breakdown of barriers rather than their erection in the exuberant mixing of a globalizing, multicultural society. The mapping of cultural variety was part and parcel of folklorists' methodologies in the early and mid-twentieth century and led to the creation of a number of very useful atlases. But post-1968 such mapping became associated with a sinister desire to draw boundaries around ethnic groups, and so fell into disfavour.[16] However, perhaps folklorists have been too cautious with their own concept. There is no particular reason to assume that ecotypes define ethnic cores; they are just as likely to reveal social groupings. While the inventiveness of the individual performer is worth celebrating, they still require a willing audience. Claims of the group to exercise some control over cultural production cannot easily be dismissed, and ecotypes are illustrations rather than rejections of the processes of cultural mingling.

Ecotypes in Anthropology and Family History

Some time after Sydow's death in 1952, the concept of ecotypes re-emerged in the social science literature, but this time originating not in folklore but in anthropology. Eric Wolf recoined the term to refer to 'a system of energy transfers'. All humans depend for their survival on the transfer of energy from other organisms, but the means used to exploit these organisms varies widely. Among the ecotypes dependent entirely on human and animal labour (as opposed to mineral power) Wolf identified three broad peasant ecotypes – slash and burn (or 'swiddens' agriculture), hydraulic cultivation such as the paddy fields of south-east Asia and Eurasian grain farming. Each system of energy transfers was associated with a particular social and cultural system.[17]

The term was not universally accepted among anthropologists. It was easier to perceive ecotypes in societies dominated by primary producers, but it was less easy to apply the concept to more complex societies. Ecotype would seem to suggest some degree of environmental determinism. But did the environment create the peasant or the peasant the environment? Even within Wolf's broad categories it was not clear whether technology or ecology was the most important factor shaping peasants' lives. Emphasizing the arable simply missed much of what peasants did: should room not be made for herding, pastoral, seasonal migrant, fishing, forestry and a range of other niche ecotypes? Orvar Löfgren, in a survey of Scandinavian peasantries, described six major ecotypes, and even these he argued were a 'grand simplification'. Moreover, he observed that the number of ecotypes was proliferating over the course of the nineteenth century. While larger farmers

[16] There are, among other examples of such cultural and linguistic mapping, atlases of German, Austrian, Swiss, Polish, Swedish, Finnish and Yugoslavian folk cultures. See Robert Wildhaber, 'Folk Atlas Mapping', in Richard M. Dorson (ed.), *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction* (Chicago, 1982), pp. 479–96.

[17] Eric R. Wolf, *Peasants* (Englewood Cliffs, 1966), pp. 19–34.

concentrated on market production, their land-poor neighbours mixed hunter-gathering with craft production and wage labour to create ecotypes 'in which a number of seemingly small and unimportant economic activities were combined into patterns of subsistence'.[18] Such developments, which meant one could find more than one ecological adaptation even within the same village, highlighted another difficulty with Wolf's model – how to account for historical change. As Löfgren and other Scandinavian researchers discovered, ecotypes were not static. The local ecological adaptation was highly influenced by macroeconomic developments, principally integration into national and international markets. Other historical factors were also significant, such as the growth of state power and its demands, particularly (in the Scandinavian case) in the form of conscription.

However, Löfgren did not abandon the ecotype, but rather offered an adapted definition as 'a pattern of resource exploitation within a given mode of production and social formation'. Folklore has a much higher academic profile in Scandinavia than in Britain or the United States, and Löfgren was drawing not only on the work of anthropologists and social historians; he was also familiar with the work of scholars working within the Sydovian tradition, such as Matti Sarmela (the compiler of the atlas of Finnish folk cultures). Löfgren recognized that cultural ecotypes, particularly the differing rituals surrounding couple formation, connected with the economic and ecological ecotypes. For example, drawing on Jonas Frykman's research, the social stratification that was part and parcel of the grain economy of southern Sweden was associated with a high level of patriarchal control, absence of premarital sex and a strong ritual culture, whereas illegitimacy, the outcome of the custom known as 'night-courting' or 'bundling', was more tolerated in the more socially homogeneous and egalitarian north.[19] The distribution of the two varieties of ecotype – one economic, the other folkloric – overlapped, just as Sarmela had found in his comparison of the cultures of western, grain-producing Finland and that of the more migrant and socially isolated populations of Karelia.[20] This was no mere coincidence; rather cultural activities emerged from the social organization supported by a particular economy, and in turn reinforced them. Löfgren's own studies of Swedish herring-fishing communities demonstrated that they had created a social system that attempted to balance competition with cooperation through custom and ritual, and a culture that, as with many other fishing societies, put great emphasis on the magical manipulation of 'luck'. Ecological adaptation and folkloric adaptation were connected.[21]

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[18] Orvar Löfgren, 'Historical Perspectives on Scandinavian Peasantries', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 9 (1980): pp. 193, 203 (subsequent quote at p. 195).

[19] Jonas Frykman, 'Sexual Intercourse and Social Norms: A Study of Illegitimate Births in Sweden 1831–1933', *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, 5 (1975): 110–50.

[20] Matti Sarmela, 'Folklore, Ecology, and Superstructures', *Studia Fennica*, 18 (1974): 76–115.

[21] Orvar Löfgren, 'Peasant Ecotypes. Problems in the Comparative Study of Ecological Adaptation', *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, 6 (1976): 100–115.

Löfgren's definition of ecotypes has had considerable influence not only in European anthropology and ethnology, but also among historians of the family such as David Gaunt, Michael Mitterauer and Richard Rudolph.[22] The peasant family as an institution is analogous to fairytale plotlines such as *Cinderella* in that its distribution is all but universal; but it shows some morphological variations in structure across its range – the nuclear family, the stem family, the *communauté* and so on. Ecological explanations of these differences appealed particularly to historians of upland peasants, such as Mitterauer, presumably because the influence of the environment is more tangible in the mountains. Ecotypes could be used to illustrate another important concept among family historians – family strategies – that linked family structure to the labour needs of the household economy. It was argued, for example, that pastoral agriculture, a typical niche exploitation of the poor soils of upland areas, required the labour of two adult males – one in the mountains with the flocks, the other working the infields around the house – and so encouraged an extended family type. On the lowland plains, however, the labour needs of grain farming were highly seasonal, and this encouraged a nuclear family structure in order that the family did not have to support too many unproductive mouths in the dead season.

As in other domains, the concept has not been universally accepted by family historians. Family history has undergone its own 'cultural turn', and while Löfgren's definition left considerable room for economic, social and institutional factors, it was less generous in admitting culture as an independent agent of historical change. The problem was posed with particular clarity in family history because, even if the environment determined which household structures were successful within a particular context, it did not act directly on the family but was mediated through culture. Different family types were not created out of the direct perception of labour needs, but by the rules governing inheritance. If local inheritance law grew out of customary practice then one might consider it a confirmation of the ecotype; but in modern times law has been subject to other influences. A conquering power might insist on the adoption of its own law for purposes of imposing its cultural hegemony (as happened in the partitions of Poland in the eighteenth century);[23] a revolutionary regime might impose new laws for ideological reasons, as happened in France after 1789.[24] In

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[22] David Gaunt, 'Pre-Industrial Economy and Population Structure: The Elements of Variance in Early Modern Sweden', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 2 (1977): 183–210; Michael Mitterauer, 'Peasant and Non-Peasant Family Forms in Relation to the Physical Environment and the Local Economy,' *Journal of Family History*, 17/2 (1992): 139–59; Richard L. Rudolph, 'Major Issues in the Study of the European Peasant Family, Economy, and Society', in R.L. Rudolph (ed.), *The European Peasant Family and Society: Historical Studies* (Liverpool, 1995), pp. 6–25.

[23] Rudolph, 'Major Issues', pp. 12–13.

[24] Margaret H. Darrow, *Revolution in the House: Family, Class, and Inheritance in Southern France, 1775–1825* (Princeton, 1989).

the long term, these developments would have a measurable impact on family structure, but at first sight they are difficult to integrate into the notion of the ecotype. Nor is it immediately obvious what room they left for the agency of individual and the local.

How Ecotypes Might Resolve Some Problems in Social and in Cultural History

These problems are real; nonetheless I venture that there is still some mileage left in the concept of ecotypes. I will argue that it might helpfully address two problems: the first is a failing in social history; the second is a more general problem but it appears particularly acute in cultural history. Firstly, of course social historians have for many years connected regional variations in human behaviour with environmental and economic factors such as the division between upland and lowland, degrees of market integration, patterns of land tenure and social stratification. This is particularly true of France, with its long history of historical geography that has mapped political choices, religious affiliations and family structures, and investigated how these might connect with the physical and social landscape. The Counter-Revolution in the Vendée and the *chouannerie* in Brittany have provided useful laboratories to explore the reasons why one village or region overwhelmingly supported the Revolution, while another bitterly opposed it. Various overlapping hypotheses have been put forward, supported by geographical data, about the peculiarities of the Vendée. Did the bocage landscape isolate its inhabitants from political developments elsewhere in France?[25] Was it less 'urbanized' (to use Tilly's formulation), more autarkic and unwilling to tolerate central interference?[26] Did the particular form of leasehold tenure that characterized landholding in the west make the abolition of feudalism meaningless there?[27] All of these explanations have a degree of plausibility; the problem is that simply showing that environmental or economic maps dovetail with political maps does not in itself explain how the one acts on the other. The Vendean peasant did not look out of his window, see a hedge ripe for the launching of an ambush and immediately join the Counter-Revolution; the disadvantages of leasehold did not act on the Breton peasant like water on a seed. There is an intervening layer of interpretation through which the peasant endowed that landscape, that leasehold,

[25] 'The isolation of the bocage' is something of a truism in French history; see, for example, Annie Moulin, *Peasantry and Society in France since 1789*, trans. M.C. and M.F. Cleary (Cambridge, 1991), p. 130. The scholarly credentials for such statements derive from André Siegfried, *Tableau politique de la France de l'ouest sous la Troisième République* (Paris, 1913).

[26] Charles Tilly, *The Vendée* (London, 1964), pp. 16–37.

[27] Timothy Le Goff and Donald Sutherland, 'The Social Origins of Counter-Revolution in Western France', *Past and Present*, 99 (1983): 65–87.

with significance and which meant that his political choice made sense not only to him but was also communicable to others in his community. In other words the structural factors were conceived of through culture. This illustrates a common problem in social science history: it is not enough to show why the peasant *might* rationally have come to a particular decision. We must also investigate how those factors impinged on his own consciousness, how the peasant reasoned out that decision for himself. This necessarily forces us to look at the kind of material preserved in folklore collections, because the peasant discussed his choices through the cultural media available to him.

An illustration might make this point clearer. The folklorist Charles Joisten – a very active collector of oral narrative texts in the Dauphiné and Savoy regions of France – discovered that while werewolf legends were distributed more or less throughout the region, they existed in two distinct forms. The first was familiar from legends gathered in other parts of France and elsewhere: a wolf approaches a human, who gives it food (sometimes accompanied by a benediction) and this act of charity releases the werewolf from the curse. This legend usually has a religious tenor. In the other, more distinctive type werewolves were employed by seigneurs, and protected by priests, to steal human children for their fat, which was, according to some versions, used in the manufacture of glass. There is evidence that this belief was already current before the Revolution, when glassmaking was effectively a noble monopoly in the Dauphiné. Robert Chanaud and Alice Joisten plotted the location where these two types were narrated and revealed two distinct ecotypes (though they themselves do not use the term): the werewolf recipient of a gift was restricted to highland regions; the werewolf agent of the powerful was only found in lowland areas, as shown in Figure 1.1. The geographical distribution of the legend marries up with the geography of political choices during the Revolutionary period: the lowlands largely accepted the Revolution, and in particular welcomed the abolition of feudalism; whereas the highlands, where the seigneurial regime was not so intrusive, were less enthusiastic, especially about the Revolution's religious policies.

Even if these legend ecotypes were already well established in the eighteenth century (which appears likely but is difficult to prove with certainty), it would be reductive to argue that the different forms of the legends were caused solely by the greater or lesser seigneurial burden in different areas; nor can one argue that belief in (or familiarity with) one or other type led directly to particular political engagements. Nonetheless this example suggests one of the ways in which structural factors, such as landholding, were conceived of within peasant culture, and how that culture might have made some forms of political action, such as attacks on seigneurial monopolies, more plausible.[28] The legend that gets repeated

[28] Charles Joisten, Alice Joisten and Robert Chanaud, 'Les loups-garous en Savoie et Dauphiné', *Le monde alpin et rhodanien* 20/1–4 (1992): 17–182. This special edition of the journal was entitled *Êtres fantastiques dans les Alpes. Recueil d'études et de documents en mémoire de Charles Joisten (1936–1981)*.

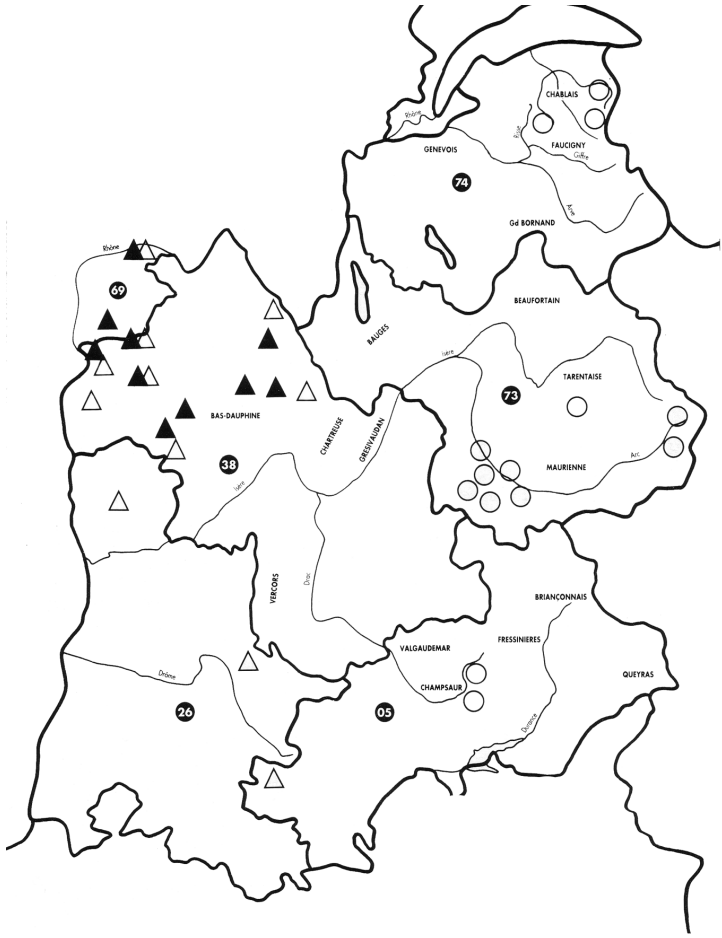

Figure 1.1 Distribution of werewolf legends in the Dauphiné and Savoy regions of France, based on the collection of Charles Joisten (1936–1981). Reproduced from *Le monde alpin et rhodanien*, 20/1–4 (1992), p. 125

○ indicates the locations where 'the werewolf recipient of a gift' legends have been collected. △ and ▲ indicate locations where 'the werewolf agent of the powerful' legends have been collected: △ for the agent of the clergy, ▲ for the agent of the seigneur.

is the one that makes sense to the audience operating in a particular environment, not only because it appears to describe some aspect of their shared experience, but because it proposes ways in which one might act within that reality. Legends as a genre, for all they appear to deal with the supernatural, usually relate in some way to the real-life problems experienced by the populations that narrate them; and at the same time they suggest strategies for dealing with those problems. Therefore there should be a direct correlation between narrative ecotypes and behavioural ecotypes, between how one talks about werewolves and how one deals with seigneurs.[29]

Some might object that we do not have the sources to enter into the culture of the peasant and listen to his own arguments, which brings me to how ecotypes might solve one of the problems besetting social history. It is an *idée reçue* among large parts of the historical profession that 'the archives of the poor are silent',[30] though one hopes that no one familiar with the work of Peter Burke would be tempted into such an utterance. However, such a working assumption seems to govern much current cultural history, which shows less interest in culture as lived experience, at least when we are talking about peasants or other subordinate groups, than in culture as a series of representations revealed in texts. Cultural historians have found endless material in the objects of commercialized consumption, from broadside ballads, chapbooks, conduct manuals, sermons, prints, theatricals of every description, world fairs, shop windows, adverts and postcards; but while the concepts of reception and appropriation are often invoked, they are less often realized. Rather, one is offered a history of the content of these objects, whereas their effects on unknown purchasers, readers and viewers can only be conjectured. Sydow had a rather different conception of culture, not as something that was waved before the eyes of the people but as something that people did, the stories they themselves told, the songs they themselves sung, the tools they themselves made, the games they themselves played, the rituals they themselves enacted. Admittedly Sydow's cultural areas were rather too enclosed and he underestimated the impact of print, the Church, compulsory schooling and other external influences. Nonetheless it is worth investigating whether culture as something in which people actively participate is different from something available to them, courtesy either of the market or some would-be hegemonic institution, but whose impact is difficult to quantify.

Again, perhaps this point is easier illustrated than explained. Broadside ballads were one of the most readily available forms of commercialized culture in the nineteenth century, both in Britain and other parts of Europe, and were connected

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[29] Timothy Tangherlini, 'Rhetoric, Truth and Performance: Politics and the Interpretation of Legend', *Indian Folklife*, 25 (2007): 8–12.

[30] The quotation comes from Lars P. Laamann's review of *Prostitution and Sexuality in Shanghai: A Social History, 1849–1949* by Christian Henriot, Institute of Historical Research, online *Reviews in History* (2002): http://www history.ac.uk/reviews/ (accessed 7 January 2009). It is not hard to find any number of similar statements.

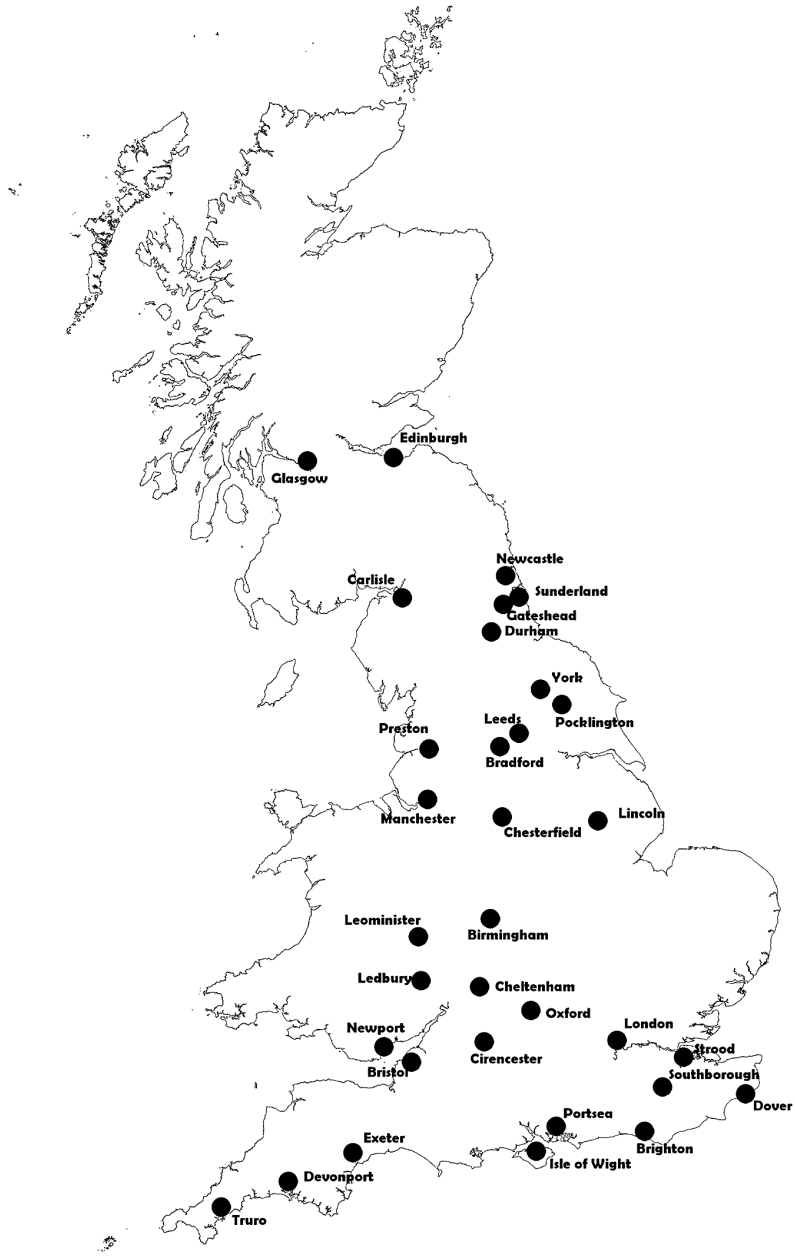

Figure 1.2 Locations in the United Kingdom where broadsides on smuggling themes were printed in the nineteenth century. Prepared by Ed Lamb and based on the *Roud Broadside Index*. Vaughan Williams Memorial Library Online

to other forms such as the theatre, fair and the singing saloon. Produced by the million, they were cheap and ubiquitous. Undoubtedly a study of their content has much to tell us about the culture of the masses, and a study that also took into account the preferences of the buying public and the processes in which the broadside was consumed (literally, given the ephemeral nature of the broadside) would tell us even more. One might even apply an ecotype analysis; as some songs achieved global reach, reproduced by dozens of printers (at least in the anglophone world), others had to be adapted to local tastes, while others only ever achieved local popularity. However, the map of the centres of broadside production and the networks of distribution does not correlate neatly with the map of where these same songs were sung. It seems reasonable to assume that there was greater cultural investment on the part of the individual in learning and singing a song, whether derived from a broadside or by some other means, than simply hearing it sung by a speech-cryer or even buying a copy. Let us take as an example broadsides on the subject of smuggling which enjoyed great popularity in nineteenth-century Britain, as can be seen by the number of publishers who printed ballads on this topic (Figure 1.2). However, if one looks at the map of who actually sung these titles one gets a very different distribution, limited to the coast of East Anglia, Sussex and the Solent, Cornwall and the Bristol Channel – that is to those regions and communities that had some historical connection to smuggling as a real activity (Figure 1.3).

There is more than one explanation for this pattern: folksong collectors were usually amateurs who might have to limit their activities to their holidays – spent at the seaside; the proximity of the sea might have led them to ask about smuggling songs. Nonetheless the contrast between these two maps argues that any historical study of the representation of the smuggler that only considered commercialized culture, and that neglected to look at how different groups interpreted and remade that culture for themselves, would be lopsided.[31] Culture performed is neither just a reflection of reality nor simply a representation of action; rather it is culture as historical action and as influence on other actions beyond the singing of a song or the telling of a tale. It is a demonstration of agency in other words. And yet at the same time it helps us understand the limits on agency, as performance of the cultural ecotype helps produce forms of behaviour that in turn create the context for future performances.

There is particular value in highlighting folklore ecotypes now that history prepares to undergo what some are calling a 'spatial turn', courtesy of geographic information system (GIS) technology. It is relatively difficult to produce maps

[31] These maps were prepared by my student, Ed Lamb, for his undergraduate thesis on 'The Memory of Smuggling in South-East England' (University of Oxford, 2007). They are based on those two most wonderful resources, the *Roud Folk Song Index* and the *Roud Broadside Index*, compiled by Steve Roud and now available online from the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, English Folk Dance and Song Society: http://library.efdss.org/. I am very grateful to Ed for allowing me to use them.

Figure 1.3 Locations in the United Kingdom where songs on smuggling themes were collected from oral performance. Prepared by Ed Lamb and based on the *Roud Folksong Index*. Vaughan Williams Memorial Library Online

of the distribution of such cultural goods as books or postcards, and still difficult to assess the impact of cultural exposure even when such a distribution map is feasible, such as the route followed by a touring theatre company. By comparison folklore collections make a rather good laboratory in which to test the degree of correlation between culture and other factors. Folklore collections are made up of dozens of narrative acts, often though not always clearly located in time and space. Few narrations of a tale or song are completely unique, and so one may have available hundreds of texts of what is, essentially, the same song or the same tale. This level of repetition addresses one of the critiques of cultural history made by social science historians, that it is reduced to anecdotage because it is impossible to achieve far-reaching conclusions on the basis of single examples. Folklore, on the other hand, provides sources one can count. Yet, for all that one is dealing with a large corpus, these are not stereotyped reproductions, but rather each one registers some variations. It is reasonable to hope that such textual changes, or *mouvance*, to use a term current among medieval literary scholars who face similar problems with multiple manuscripts of the same or cognate texts, are related to some difference in the context in which the text was produced.[32] Some variations are peculiar to the particular narrator or singer, allowing a genuinely micro-level of analysis, but the degree to which all variants of the same song or tale are related is indicative of the limitations on individual agency. It is the audience, not the narrator, that decides which narratives succeed and become replicated within a particular milieu; it is they who are responsible for the process of ecotypification. The idiosyncrasies of narrators are tolerated only within a certain range, and are readily corrected. Folkloric texts are socially produced; they are not (or at least not only) the creations of individual agents. Thus one can shift between different levels of analysis – from micro to macro and back – relatively easily.

Let me offer one final illustration of that connection. Nearly 30 years ago, Peter Taylor and Hermann Rebel advanced an argument that the folktales in the Grimms' collection drew on peasant experiences of conscription in the Duchy of Hesse (the region from which the Grimms assembled their material). They picked on two tale-types, ATU 450 and ATU 451, represented by four separate versions in the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. Both tale-types concern brothers driven from the parental home, usually by the birth of a daughter, and the transformation of the brothers into an animal form, usually some kind of bird. The rest of the tale relates the girl's efforts to rescue her brothers and restore them to human form. Taylor and Rebel argued that these tales were metaphorical representations of peasant family strategies adopted in consequence of the draconian Hessian conscription system. As elder sons were likely to be drafted, patriarchs favoured a policy of ultimo-geniture in which the youngest daughter (safe from the draft) inherited the farm. Young women with property would attract suitable male labour from outside Hesse (and therefore not subject to the draft) to come and settle on the farm, and so the patriarchs' retirement plans were secured. However, Taylor and Rebel went

[32] Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris, 1972), pp. 72–3.

on to suggest that the tales not only reflected a socio-economic context beyond the peasants' control, but they also suggested strategies that peasants could adopt to negotiate and resist those structuring factors. The knowledge that the younger daughter would be favoured over her brothers caused tension among the siblings and put particular stress on the young women; it was this that found expression in the tales. Even though they stood to inherit, Taylor and Rebel found that these women were often choosing to migrate out of Hesse, thus effectively allowing the inheritance to revert to their older brothers should they return from the wars. By their actions they had made their brothers human again.[33]

Taylor and Rebel put forward a powerful case, but the difficulty with their argument is that they did not first establish whether these particular tale-types were special to Hesse. As one can find versions of ATU 450 and ATU 451 recorded well beyond the borders of the Duchy, they cannot be uniquely Hessian ecotypes. However, once one starts to plot the precise locations where other versions were narrated, some intriguing patterns do begin to emerge, especially with ATU 450, generally known by the Grimms' title *Little Brother, Little Sister*. This was a popular tale in Central and Eastern Europe, but only found a limited audience in Western Europe. For example, only 12 texts of the tale were collected from oral narration in France during the nineteenth century, and of these three were very idiosyncratic and isolated versions collected in the west, in Brittany and Poitou. The remaining nine, three-quarters of all versions collected in France, were recorded in just one department, the Nièvre.[34] As the poet Achille Millien assembled the largest single folktale collection in France in the Nièvre during the early Third Republic, so some representation from this quarter might be expected.[35] However, as the national catalogue of French folktales lists about 10,000 texts, Millien's 960 texts represent only about one-tenth of the total; so if all folktale types were distributed equally throughout France then one might expect the Millien collection to contain about 10 per cent of each of them. Many tale-types do indeed approximate to this distribution; however, some well-known tale-types do not appear in the Millien collection at all, while for others it provides the majority, if not the totality, of versions found in France. ATU 450 *Little Brother, Little Sister* is one of these,

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[33] Peter Taylor and Hermann Rebel, 'Hessian Peasant Women, Their Families, and the Draft: A Social-Historical Interpretation of Four Tales from the Grimm Collection', *Journal of Family History*, 6/4 (1981): 347–78.

[34] Paul Delarue and Marie-Louise Ténèze, *Le Conte populaire français: catalogue raisonné des versions de France*, 4 vols (2nd edn, Paris, 2002), pp. 123–8.

[35] For information on Achille Millien, see Daniel Hénard and Jacques Tréfouël, *Achille Millien: Nivernais passeur de mémoire* (Saint-Bonnot, 2005); and Sébastien Langlois, *Achille Millien, 1838–1927: Répertoire numérique du fonds 82 J* (Nevers, 2001), pp. 7–17. Paul Delarue transcribed the tales collected by Millien, and these transcriptions can be found in the archives of the Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires, Mss Millien/Delarue (Nivernais). Delarue also published numerous versions of these transcriptions, including in the *Catalogue raisonné*: the illustrative version given of ATU 450 is one such.

but the tale's claim to be a regional ecotype does not reside solely on its limited representation in other localities, but also because eight of the nine Nivernais versions show strong textual links to each other which they do not share with versions collected elsewhere in France, or beyond.

I summarize below a representative version of *Little Brother, Little Sister* related by one of these Nivernais narrators (a woman, as most tellers of this tale were) to Millien in 1887. Jeanne Chandillon was 58 years old at the time and married to a peasant-farmer named François Bonnard; she lived in the village of Bulcy, where she had been born. Her story concerns a brother and a sister abandoned in the forest by their parents. Dying of thirst, they meet a woman who tells them the first person to drink from a nearby spring will be transformed into a pigeon. But the boy is too thirsty; he cannot resist. The girl takes the pigeon and looks after it. Shortly thereafter a prince hunting in the forest finds the pair. He offers to marry the girl; she agrees, but only on condition that he promises never to harm her pigeon. Other versions substitute other transformations (lion, undesignated bird), but all are linked by this promise extracted by the heroine from her future spouse on behalf of her brother, usually expressed in exactly the same words. The prince returns to his castle with the girl and marries her. One day while the prince is hunting, a witch abducts the girl, throws her down a well and takes her place. When the prince returns he asks his altered wife what food might restore her: 'Nothing but my white pigeon.' 'You amaze me, but I will have it killed.' The king sends a ploughman to kill the pigeon, which he finds on the mouth of the well. The pigeon is singing, 'Oh pity sister, sweet sister, here comes the ploughman, with his gun in his hand, to shoot me in the heart.' The ploughman then hears a voice responding from the well, 'But the prince did indeed promise me, that he would never do any harm, to my gentle little brother.' Again, all the Nivernais versions contain this duet, a reminder of the promise made by the husband. The ploughman goes and tells the prince, the prince rescues the girl from the well, the witch is punished and the boy returned to human form.[36]

This is a relatively unusual example of the fairytale genre, in that for all it appears to be about the formation of a couple – which is what one expects of fairytales – the core of the narrative concerns sibling relations, and positive sibling relations at that. Sibling rivalry is of course not an unfamiliar motif in fairytales, one only has to think of Cinderella's ugly sisters; but in *Cinderella* the emphasis is on the formation of a new household separate from the heroine's home: Cinderella is not obliged to take her sisters with her. In *Little Brother, Little Sister* the sister actually wants to incorporate her brother into her spousal home. Is there anything in the socio-economic context of the region that might make sense of this distinctive local cultural preference?

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[36] Archives départementales de la Nièvre, MS 55 Cahier Bulcy 1887, pp. 16–17. I am grateful to Georges Delarue for providing me with transcripts of this tale, together with other unpublished versions of ATU 450 from the Millien collection.

There was one oddity about the old Duchy of Nevers, whose boundaries dovetail fairly neatly with the department of the Nièvre: in medieval times as much as one-half of the land-surface was worked under a tenure system known as *bordelage*, which gave serfs security of tenure but forbade both the division of land and inheritance by non-resident members of the family. In the seventeenth century this type of tenure was transformed into a sharecropping arrangement which continued into the nineteenth century. Because farm sizes tended to be large, and because under both *bordelage* and sharecropping tenures the tenants could not subdivide the property, farms required large amounts of labour. One way to ensure a supply of labour was a large family. So the Nièvre was one of the last bastions of the *communauté* family type in which several related couples – the parents and several married offspring, for example – made up one household, 'same hearth, same pot' as it is described in legal documents.[37] Despite revolutionary changes to the laws on inheritance, which meant that each child could insist on removing their inherited property from the common pot, new *communautés* continued to be formed in the nineteenth century. The *communauté* also lived on as a cultural ideal, a familial arrangement that people in the region understood was possible, perhaps desirable, even though most did not live in one. One can readily appreciate that within a *communauté* positive sibling relations were vital, as were relations between incoming marriage partners and the other blood kin of their spouse. Another name for the *communauté* is a *frérèche*, implying that these were households formed by cohabiting brothers and their spouses; but in the actual examples of *communauté* households I have studied they were formed through the marriage not of sons but of daughters.[38] In other words the situation does bear some resemblance to that described by Taylor and Rebel in Hesse. One can readily imagine the kinds of tensions that might arise in households consisting of unmarried brothers, married sisters and their husbands. The woman's storytelling could be a way to negotiate these tensions, reminding the husband of the conditions under which the marriage took place, reminding the brother of the love his sister bears him. As these issues were addressed through the medium of fantasy and no explicit parallel to household dynamics was made, so no party could be offended, and yet at the same time the message was delivered.

It is not necessarily the case that all Nivernais narrators of *Little Brother, Little Sister* had direct experience of living in a *communauté*, though at least two had. Rather the point is the folkloric or cultural ecotype made sense within a context in which the socio-economic ecotype also made sense. However, while the spatial and chronological overlap between the two ecotypes suggests a connection between the two, it does not resolve whether a particular social form was

[37] John W. Shaffer, *Family and Farm: Agrarian Change and Household Organization in the Loire Valley, 1500–1900* (Albany NY, 1982).

[38] David Hopkin, 'Female Soldiers and the Battle of the Sexes in France: the Mobilization of a Folk Motif', *History Workshop Journal* 56/1, (2003): 94, for a description of the formation of the one such *communauté*.

produced through culture or whether that culture was simply the expression of the underlying socio-economic structure. Did Nivernais farmers form *communautés* because that was what they had been brought up with, a model proposed to them both through example and through cultural lessons like storytelling; or was it merely a strategic response to external, primarily economic stimuli, which then found itself represented in cultural form? There is a danger, apparent in some of the Scandinavian material considered above, that by establishing this kind of connection one portrays the cultural ecotype simply as the soft reflection of hard-edged economic realities, or a superstructure erected over a social structure and economic base. That would be less a bridge between cultural and social history than the reimposition of an old orthodoxy. That is not my intention, and I think the way to avoid this trap is to understand that oral literature was not a reflection of the world but rather an engagement with it.

This point can be demonstrated by a consideration of the one version of ATU 450 from the Nivernais corpus that differs from Jeanne Chandillon's more typical text. This, more individualized version was written down by Marie Briffault of Montigny-aux-Amognes for Achille Millien in 1881. Marie had grown up in a *communauté* formed by the marriage of daughters, so the theme of the tale was calculated to appeal. However, her version differs in one very important aspect: her heroine extracts the promise that her brothers (in her case three stags) will be protected not from her future spouse but from a replacement father figure.[39] The heroine's marriage only occurs after the denouement of the tale, the rescue of the girl from the well, and then to a character only introduced in the penultimate line of the tale. If one examines Marie's entire repertoire the reason for this plot-change appears to be that she could not stand the prospect of the heroine leaving home to find her spouse; rather the man must come to the bride's home to woo her, and remain there after marriage. This was indeed how the Briffault households were formed, both in her parents' and in her own generation. Marie narrated more than 35 tales, but in only two of them did the heroine leave home to marry – and in both cases the bridegroom turned out to be the Devil. Given this very strongly articulated personal preference, Marie altered the accepted ecotypical form of *Little Brother, Little Sister*, and indeed many other traditional tales, in order to avoid the exile from the parental home with which all other versions begin.

The F Marie demonstrated as a narrator might perhaps be seen in other aspects of her life. Her tales reveal little enthusiasm for marriage, and indeed she never did marry or leave the parental home. She may have told tales about extended families because that was what she knew, but her version of ATU 450 was not just a fictionalized representation of the reality she was familiar with; it was also a tool for operating within it, a mechanism for expressing her own thoughts and influencing the behaviour of those around her. Storytelling is an inherently social activity: through narrating Marie was trying to shape those circumstances, to

[39] Achille Millien and Georges Delarue, *Récits et contes populaires du Nivernais* (Paris, 1978), pp. 48–51.

express her preferences and her dislikes, in a manner that would be heard by those who had power in her life. This is why the cultural ecotype is not just a reflection of a socio-economic reality; the fairytale lets us listen into actual decision-making process in which peasant narrators and their audiences grappled with the structuring forces in their lives, but also expressed their ability to manipulate or resist those forces.

Conclusion

There is a danger in all forms of mapping that one creates the impression of impermeable boundaries, and therefore that by defining ecotypes one is suggesting that social groups and their cultures are equally closed. This would run counter to much contemporary social history which puts the emphasis on the individual rather than the social group as an historical actor precisely because an individual can pass through several different social groups in a lifetime, and operate within several cultures. One's actions and one's tastes cannot be predicted by membership of a particular social class, not least because the membership of that class is not stable. However, ecotypes might be very useful to histories of mobility, for how else does the social climber learn how to join a higher rank than by learning, and then performing, the cultural ecotype of that rank? At the same time the newcomer may bring cultural wares that, if suitably adapted to their new milieu (the process of ecotypification), might prove attractive to a different audience. Sydow had always accepted that one might tell aberrant versions in other cultural regions: a highlander might narrate his preferred werewolf legend on a visit to the lowlands; a peasant conscript from the Nivernais might regale his barrack-room peers with *Little Brother, Little Sister*. Sydow's argument was that the imported version would not survive unless it could fit itself to the wider context. And yet, one can imagine that if the migrants are sufficiently numerous, the social context sufficiently fluid or the novelty sufficiently pleasing, the cultural import could catch on. On the other hand, and in particular where several ecotypes derived from different genres or different types of human activity appear to overlap, perhaps one should emphasize the persistence of cultural difference and the ability of that culture to either refashion or reject migrant cultural artefacts. In this chapter I have looked at three different folkloric genres – the legend, the song and the folktale – and treated them separately. But, as Roger Abrahams has argued, it is only by looking at *all* the cultural products from one area or one group *together* that one really perceives the power of the ecotype.

One must admit that the ecotypes considered in this chapter, both socio-economic and cultural, have been rural and, for want of a better word, 'traditional'. It is certainly easier to imagine how the environment impinges on primary producers more urgently than in complex, urban societies; just as it is easier to look for evidence of cultural repetition in folkloric genres rather than in genres that place greater emphasis on invention. Some cultural and social fixity is necessary

to uncover ecotypes. Nonetheless, it is not impossible to apply an ecotype analysis to urban environments. Broadside ballads, an urban form, nonetheless exhibit some of the same traits as folktales in that, within a large set of texts that are clearly related to one another, that can be firmly anchored in space and time, one discovers *mouvance* between versions that relate to the social context of production. Or perhaps an ecotypal investigation of song-cultures would break down the division between urban and rural. Ecotypes have the potential to make us look again at our accepted spatial divisions. For example, and despite the active collaboration of folklorists in nation-building projects in the nineteenth century, ecotypes seldom coincide with national boundaries, which should perhaps make us reflect on whether the nation state provides the appropriate cadre of analysis in cultural history.

One must also admit that the examples offered here are drawn from the nineteenth century, and that they depend on the efforts of nineteenth-century collectors who followed the injunctions and example of Herder and the Grimms. Without the folk revival that, for ease, we might date from the 1760 publication of James Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, there simply would not be the material with which to construct an ecotype. The European catalogues of folktales that excluded all texts recorded post-1760 would be very thin indeed. However, one of the many achievements of Peter Burke's *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* was to indicate the wealth of popular cultural sources that pre-date what he labelled the 'rediscovery of the People' in the late eighteenth century.[40] Dateable, locateable texts of folktales for the early modern period might be rare, but that is less true of songs, whether printed or manuscript. And one can certainly point to ecotypes in folk art, a relatively neglected field, that span the modern and early modern eras. The persistence of ecotypical cultural forms might lead us to look again at our accepted chronological divisions, as well as our spatial ones.

The most attractive quality of the ecotype is the ability to encompass simultaneously the micro and the macro, enabling the historian to see both the wood and the trees. Following an ecotype one can examine a single narrator such as Jeanne Chandillon or Marie Briffault in relation to all other narrators, and all other potential auditors, not just in the locality or the nation, but across continents, and keep them in focus at the same time. One can appreciate both the agency of the individual and the local, as well as the structural and cultural limitations on that agency. One might misquote Marx and say that 'Woman tells her own story, but not in circumstances of her own choosing', because storytelling is but a subset of all the actions that collectively make history. Ecotypes do not in themselves establish which weighs more, the individual's will or the circumstances, in shaping social and cultural forms. They are essentially descriptive; they can suggest causal relationships but they cannot prove them. Nonetheless, as a methodological tool,

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[40] James Macpherson, *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (Edinburgh, 1760); Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (2nd edn, Aldershot, 1994 [first published 1978]).

they suggest ways in which cultural history might join with social history in pursuing that investigation.

Chapter 2
Rituals of the Viaticum: Dynasty and Community in Habsburg Madrid[1]

María José del Río Barredo

This chapter explores the political dimensions of a religious ritual in early modern Madrid. A relatively common practice since the Middle Ages, the viaticum – the administration of communion to the sick – included a mass in church to consecrate the Eucharist and a journey by the priest and his acolyte to transport the host to the home of the infirm. The cortège became more elaborate with the increasing importance of Eucharistic devotion during the Counter-Reformation. The faithful were expected to show reverence wherever they might come across the viaticum and to escort it during part of its journey. This obligation was particularly binding for the confraternities dedicated to the sacrament, whose members formed small groups to accompany the viaticum during ordinary journeys and also organized more sophisticated annual processions to carry the Easter communion to the invalids of each parish.[2]

Without losing sight of the religious nature of the ritual of the viaticum, this chapter focuses on the unique political importance it acquired in the capital of the Spanish monarchy during the reigns of Philip II (1559–1598) and his seventeenth-century successors. The Habsburg kings occasionally participated in public homage to and accompaniment of the viaticum, so that it effectively became one

[1] This research was supported by a grant from Spain's Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación, project number HAR2008-00944.

[2] In the original Latin usage, 'viaticum' refers to the allowance or provisions for a journey. Christian tradition associated this journey with death, and initially reserved the viaticum for the dying: viaticum was the Eucharist administered immediately before the sacrament of extreme unction. From the late Middle Ages the viaticum was assimilated into communion for the sick and those unable to attend mass to receive the Eucharist. After the Council of Trent, the *Rituale Romanum* (1614) sanctioned the solemn and public communion of invalids and the role performed in this practice by the confraternities dedicated to Corpus Christi and the Most Holy Sacrament. For its liturgy, see 'Viathique' in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris, 1909–1950) and A.G. Mortinet, *La Iglesia en oración. Introducción a la liturgia* (Barcelona, 1987; first edition in French, 1984), pp. 539–48 and 793–9. For the increasing solemnity of public accompaniment and the confraternities, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 77–82 and 235–6, and Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989), ch. 4. I am most grateful to James Amelang, Laura Bass, William Christian, Katherine van Liere and Elizabeth Wright for their help and comments while writing this chapter.

of the components of the ceremonial practices of the court. Nevertheless, because the king's participation in the ritual was sporadic and staged as a spontaneous act of devotion, it was never incorporated into prescribed court ceremonies (*etiquetas reales*). In this way, it contrasted with the Corpus Christi processions in which the Spanish kings regularly participated and which, accordingly, have received greater scholarly attention.[3] Although its significance as a ceremonial practice has been neglected in the context of the Spanish court, the image of a Habsburg prince worshipping the viaticum has been studied as a commonplace in seventeenth-century political literature. In her study centred on the Central European branch of the Habsburgs, Anne Coreth has drawn attention to Eucharistic devotion as the most significant element of *pietas austriaca*. Political writers in the territories of the Holy Roman Empire and the Spanish monarchy during the Counter-Reformation associated worship of the viaticum with the medieval founder of the Habsburg dynasty. They also presented the scene repeatedly performed by his descendants as the fullest embodiment of piety, the principal virtue the Christian prince could have in the battle against Machiavelli.[4]

While scholarship on the Habsburg viaticum such as Coreth's focus on the political literature, my approach draws more from the perspective of historical anthropology. In the belief that the study of ritual allows us to discern meanings and subtleties that are at best implicit within political discourse, I reconstruct and analyse the encounters between Spanish kings and the viaticum that I have documented for seventeenth-century Madrid. Specifically, I examine this ritual as it evolved over time in the capital of the Spanish monarchy, exploring its Central European connections as well as the different meanings it took in the context of Madrid. Here, I focus in particular on the royal performance as well as the participation of the people in these religious rituals. These reflections invite us to nuance long-standing conceptions of the invisibility of the Spanish monarchs, taking into account the extraordinary occasions on which they found it expedient to be seen among their people. Finally, I contemplate its demise in political terms after the end of the Habsburg era, despite the fact that its popular practice became increasingly vibrant. Throughout, my thinking is informed by Peter Burke's insights in key areas, particularly on ritual as a means of communication, on

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[3] Javier Varela, *La muerte del rey. El ceremonial funerario de la monarquía española (1500–1885)* (Madrid, 1990), pp. 74–6, briefly discusses the viaticum as a royal ritual, and I consider it in passing in María José del Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs Regia. La capital ceremonial de la Monarquía Católica* (Madrid, 2000).

[4] Anne Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca* (West Lafayette, 2004; first edition in German, 1959); Robert Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe* (Chapel Hill, 1990) and Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio, introduction to Baltasar Porreño, *Dichos y hechos del Señor Rey Don Felipe Segundo* [1628] (Madrid, 2001), draw attention to other Spanish political treatises on the subject.

royal propaganda and its limits and the complexity of relations between elite and popular culture.[5]

The King Encounters God

The association of the Habsburgs with the viaticum ritual became particularly evident at the beginning of the seventeenth century, both in the Spanish royal family and in the imperial branch of the dynasty. After the outbreak of the Thirty Years War in 1618, treatises designed to glorify the dynasty proliferated, drawing particular attention to Habsburg piety. Among other manifestations of religiosity, we find descriptions of fortuitous encounters between Habsburg princes and the viaticum. These mentions underscore the humility demonstrated by members of the royal family as they venerate the Eucharist by kneeling on the ground and then accompanying it on foot with their heads uncovered for the length of the journey. Invariably, such accounts refer to the same homage paid in the thirteenth century by Count Rudolph of Habsburg, who reportedly performed this particular Eucharistic devotion just before his election as head of the Holy Roman Empire. This exemplary anecdote circulated in central Europe from the late Middle Ages and attained its widest resonance after Giovanni Botero included it in his famous treatise *The Reason of State* (1589). In this attack on Machiavelli's ideas, Botero deployed the story of Count Rudolph to support his contention that religion was the firmest foundation of political power. The grandeur of the Habsburgs, he emphasized, was rooted in Rudolph's piety, as exemplified in his spontaneous participation in the viaticum ritual. As Botero tells it, while hunting in the wilderness on a rainy day, Rudolph encountered a priest carrying communion to a sick person. Without hesitation, he dismounted, humbly worshipped the body of Christ and then sheltered the priest from the rain with his cape, thus allowing him to 'carry the sacrosanct Host with greater decorum'.[6] Needless to say, Botero went on to remark how God generously rewarded this service.

Transformed into a foundational myth of the dynasty, this anecdote gained wide currency in early modern Spain. In addition to Botero's treatise, whose Castilian translation Philip II commissioned for the education of his son and heir, the story appeared in a number of texts. Dedicated to the future Philip III, *Treatise for the Education of a Christian Prince* (1595) by the Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneira expanded the story to report that Rudolph actually gave his horse to the priest and accompanied him on foot to the convalescent's home. According to Ribadeneira,

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[5] Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge, 1987); *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven and London, 1992); *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1978).

[6] Giovanni Botero, *Della Ragion di Stato* (1589), p. 92 (book 2, 'On Religion'). According to Coreth, *Pietas*, p. 14, the oldest account of Rudolph's tale was a 1340 chronicle of the Swiss Minorite Johann von Wintertur.

this gesture was an expression of 'humble and devoted piety' that pleased God so much 'that he made him the father of the many glorious princes the House of Austria has had since that time'.[7] The Benedictine monk Juan de Salazar recounted the same tale some 20 years later in almost identical fashion, although he also offered a Spanish monarch as a model of this form of devotion. He noted that Philip II, renowned for his profound faith in the Catholic Church and its sacred objects, had simply followed the laws of his own realms when he encountered the viaticum: on that occasion he worshipped it by 'kneeling on the ground … in the middle of the mud',[8] after which he accompanied it to a church. Keen to exalt the religious values of the Spanish monarchs, Salazar dedicated his book to the future Philip IV. In it he drew on the Central European model of dynastic piety and at the same time emphasized its native Spanish qualities. This was an important point just when the two branches of the Habsburgs had renewed their dynastic alliance against Protestant Europe.

Indeed, it is precisely in the context of war, religious divisions and political rivalry for European supremacy that we find some of the most dramatic and spectacular cases of princely reverence for and accompaniment of the viaticum. In 1637, the Burgundian Jesuit Claude Clément published a book expressively titled *Machiavellianism Smited by the Christian Wisdom of Spain and Austria*. In it Clément marshals accounts of Philip IV's various Eucharistic encounters as proof of the merits and lofty deeds of the Spanish Habsburgs. The Jesuit devotes particular attention to an episode he may well have witnessed during a visit to Madrid. The encounter had taken place during a procession of thanksgiving in honour of the victory of Nördlingen (1634), when the king and full court were returning from a *Te Deum* in the convent of Our Lady of Atocha. While the royal party was making its way down the street of this name, a priest carrying the viaticum appeared unexpectedly. Without hesitation, the king performed the usual ritual: he climbed off his horse, knelt before the sacrament and accompanied it on its journey to the sick person's home and then back to the parish church of St Sebastian. Throughout, the king was escorted by his imposing ceremonial entourage, comprised of palace

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[7] Pedro de Ribadeneira, SJ, *Tratado de la religión y virtudes que debe tener el príncipe cristiano* (1595), in *Obras escogidas*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Madrid, 1952), vol. LX, p. 480.

[8] Juan de Salazar, *Política Española* (1619), ed. Miguel Herrero (Madrid, 1997), p. 70. See also *Las Siete Partidas del Sabio Rey don Alonso* (1555), p. 30 (Partida I, pp. 61–3), which were promulgated in the thirteenth century. Castilian laws were quite specific about the demonstrations of 'reverence and humility' required by all Christians in the presence of the viaticum: they should 'bow down on their knees', just as one did at the elevation of the body of Christ during a church mass, and they must accompany the cortège at least as far as the end of the street where they had met it. Those on horseback should dismount to honour God (just as they did when meeting with their 'temporal king') and if this were not possible, they should demonstrate their reverence in some other fashion or else, as a last resort, remove themselves from the scene.

servants, noblemen, ambassadors and the royal guard. Clément interprets this episode not only as a manifestation of Habsburg piety – the central theme of his book – but also as a celebration of the recent military triumph and a good omen for future victories. The author voices the expectation, moreover, that the whole world would recognize the significance of the king's action: wholly unexpected, and witnessed by so many people, it must certainly have been providential, designed so 'that all of Christendom could congratulate us a thousand times over, and be gladdened that such acts assure new triumphs against impiety and heresy'. The papal nuncio, Count Lorenzo Campeggio, himself a participant in this chance encounter, reportedly congratulated the king, saying: 'This [Sir] demonstrates the Spanish and Austrian understanding of how to give thanks, and thereby to deserve new victories and assure divine favour for your undertakings.'[9] Clearly, Clément aims to persuade readers that reverence for the viaticum rendered the king of Spain the greatest servant of God and his (Catholic) Church, thus meriting the greatest possible rewards. This objective invites interpretation of these encounters with the viaticum as a mechanism of political propaganda. Such a reading seems particularly apt in the case of royal encounters with the viaticum linked to celebrations of Habsburg military victories, as indeed happened on other occasions during the reigns of Philip IV and Charles II.

Yet such an explanation by no means accounts for all the meanings of royal encounters with the Eucharist, especially the various instances in which the ritual took place discreetly, at nightfall and before a limited number of witnesses. News of these meetings between the king and the viaticum was recorded only in private memoirs and letters of clergymen working in or near the court and, therefore, aimed at a very limited circle of readers. Thus, we would most likely be unaware of an episode involving Philip III in 1611 had it not been for a short entry in the diary of his chaplain and chief almoner, Diego de Guzmán. He notes simply that the king and his wife Margaret were returning from a visit to the Madrid convent of St Isabel when they encountered the sacrament en route to the home of a convalescent. Although it was already dark, the king accompanied the cortège until it reached the parish church of St Saviour, and then ordered his almoner to find out about the specific needs of the ailing woman (the wife of a silversmith) in order to send alms. Guzmán does not comment on the meaning of this event, but the entries of previous weeks offer a clue: the king's encounter with the Eucharist occurred two weeks after he had presided over a solemn procession of thanksgiving for the recent expulsion of the Moriscos, descendants of converted Muslims. The contrast between the latter celebration, undertaken with the highest degree of complexity and publicity, and the former, a chance royal encounter with the viaticum, suggests that the encounter with the viaticum was perceived as a semiprivate expression

[9] [Claude Clément], *El machiavelismo degollado por la Christiana Sabiduría de España y de Austria* (1637), p. 177; cf. ibid., pp. 119, 120–22 and 126. On Clément in Madrid, see John H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares* (New Haven and London, 1986), p. 24.

of divine sanction for the controversial expulsion rather than as a propagandistic occasion with which to shape attitudes and values. [10]

This case suggests that the encounters between the Habsburg kings and the Eucharist on Madrid's streets may have been perceived as a very special form of prayer. Such acts were not frequent if the ten or so cases recorded are reliable indicators. In fact, an average of two or three royal encounters with the viaticum per reign seems surprisingly low considering the proximity of the palace to most of Madrid's parish churches. Yet the issue is not so much that the kings had the opportunity to encounter the viaticum, but rather the occasions on which such a meeting was judged desirable. Indeed, although the rhetorical framework of the chroniclers presents these encounters as welcome surprises, they were, in fact, not entirely unexpected, involving as they did an element of calculation. According to both Church and royal law, it was perfectly legitimate for passers-by (especially those on horseback or in carriages) to avoid the viaticum by changing streets upon hearing the acolyte's bell. We find one example of this sort of calculation in Salazar's description, where no effort is made to hide the fact that the decisive factor behind the encounter between Philip II and the viaticum was the king's will. Specifically, Philip had prevented his servants from changing routes, 'as is typically the case (and is even construed as a form of respect and courtesy)'.[11] Father Clément also offered a brief discussion of how an encounter between Philip IV and an entire thanksgiving procession could have been avoided had the captain of the guard or the priest been more cautious. [12]

In essence, if the rituals of the viaticum did not always function as propagandistic displays of piety, neither were they entirely spontaneous. Chroniclers made this point with blunt declarations that gave a sense of immediacy, such as 'the King met the Most Holy Sacrament'.[13] Curiously enough they virtually ignored the priest who carried it and whose presence was certainly underlined by some political authors interested in showing the Habsburgs as faithful servants of the Roman Church. The almost telegraphic conciseness of the court reports might explain the simplified expressions, but the same reason did not prevent them from offering specific details about these encounters in terms of setting, time of day and the identities of the performers. It may be that for court insiders these details

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[10] 'Memorias del Cardenal Diego de Guzmán, limosnero y capellán mayor de Palacio', Real Academia de la Historia. Madrid [henceforth RAHM], Colección Salazar, 9-477, f. 97. There is a vast amount of literature on the expulsion of the Moriscos; see, among others, Miguel A. de Bunes, *Los moriscos en el pensamiento histórico* (Madrid, 1983) and Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *El problema morisco (desde otras laderas)* (Madrid, 1991).

[11] Salazar, *Política*, p. 70.

[12] Clément, *El machiavelismo degollado*, p. 174.

[13] *Cartas de algunos padres de la Compañía de Jesús sobre los sucesos de la monarquía entre los años 1634 y 1648*, ed. Pedro de Gayangos, *Memorial Histórico Español* (Madrid, 1861), vol. 13, p. 102; and ibid., vol. 14, pp. 194–5, for the scene with the admiral that follows.

were of at least as much interest as the religious scene itself. For instance, when, in 1637, Philip IV encountered the viaticum near the palace, a chronicler deemed it particularly significant that the king wanted the Admiral of Castile to be the only person to perform the ritual with him; this observer thus suggested that Philip wanted to show favour to the admiral whose troops earlier that year had delivered Fuenterrabía from siege by the French. Thus, the religious practice took on courtly concerns as well.

The notion that these regal acts of reverence toward the Eucharist stemmed from the king's initiative helps to explain another significant category of encounters: those connected to royal succession. The best known of these meetings involved Philip IV in 1621, when he and one of his brothers visited the royal monastery of St Jerome, the site of his father's funeral ceremony. Although it was customary for the new king to remain concealed until public proclamation of the successor, following the funeral honouring the deceased king, Philip IV and his brother did not hesitate to step out of their coach when it encountered the viaticum in front of the steps of the convent of St Philip. At that point, they knelt before the sacrament and, along with their horsemen, escorted it back to the parish of the Holy Cross. Some years later, the jurist Juan de Solórzano y Pereira – the author of a book of political emblems which included a depiction of Count Rudolph accompanying the viaticum – interpreted the 1621 event as the best possible augury for the new reign.[14] A previous case corroborates the connection between the viaticum rituals and royal succession: in 1596, when Spaniards sensed that the aged Philip II's death was imminent, chroniclers interpreted the crown prince's encounter with the viaticum as proof that he was truly prepared to inherit the throne as a Catholic monarch.[15] A similar interpretation seems to fit the first encounter that Charles II had with the viaticum, though it took place a decade after he reached the age of majority. Against the complicated political backdrop of prolonged regency and the conflictive alternation of tutelage between his mother Marianna and his half-brother Don Juan José de Austria, the ritual the king performed in 1685 suggested that he was finally fully ready to carry out his duties.

In fact, the ritual of the viaticum seemed so strongly associated with royal succession in Spain that even princes of other dynasties practised it in order to advance their own claims as worthy and legitimate heirs. One early example involved the princes of Savoy in 1604 while these three nephews of Philip III were on a lengthy stay in the Spanish court. According to descriptions by their confessor, Father Dossena, and their tutor, Giovanni Botero, an encounter with

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[14] 'Libro de noticias particulares, así de nacimientos de príncipes como de muertes, entradas de reyes y otros, 1598–1661', Archivo de la Villa de Madrid, Secretaría 4-122-15, f. 96r. Juan de Solórzano y Pereira, *Emblemas regio-políticos* (Valencia, 1658–1660), vol. 1, p. 353.

[15] Jerónimo de Sepúlveda, 'Historia de varios sucesos y de las cosas notables que han acaecido en España y otras naciones desde el año de 1584 hasta el de 1603', in *Documentos para la historia del Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real del Escorial* (4 vols, Madrid 1924), vol. 4, p. 183. For Charles II, see below.

the viaticum took place in which the princes accompanied the Eucharist for the entire course of its journey instead of limiting themselves to the minimum level of reverence required. Although this practice was also widespread on the Italian peninsula, it is quite possible that the young princes wanted to demonstrate their merits as potential successors to the Spanish Crown, an idea taken seriously in Italian circles given Philip III's lack of a male heir.[16] Indeed, a century later the ritual of the viaticum was openly deployed in an extra-official manner in order to bolster the claims of the two competing candidates to the throne during the War of Succession. The first involved the wife of the Habsburg pretender in the imperial faction's stronghold of Barcelona. More surprising, the second involved the Bourbon candidate, Philip of Anjou, who twice performed this ritual upon his arrival in Madrid. Later, in the tense period following his abdication and subsequent recovery of the throne in 1722–1723, he repeated the action in the company of his second wife.[17]

In spite of its clear function of legitimizing royal heirs, the ritual of the viaticum never became a formal part of official inaugural ceremonies of a new reign. That would have posed problems. Specifically, Habsburg Eucharistic devotion could not be taken for granted among all members of the family, as it was a virtue that each individual member had to attain. Many authors of political treatises thus warned that, while the piety of the dynasty's founder anchored its power, it was not by itself sufficient to maintain it. Rather, descendants needed to follow in the founder's footsteps and prove that they deserved God's favour by virtue of their own acts. Nevertheless, if this virtue could not be inherited automatically, it could be instilled in young members. This much was suggested in Spanish political writings on the subject, some of them devoted specifically to the education of royal heirs.[18]

In addition to passing on previous examples through written texts, the Habsburgs found other means of transmitting the founder's piety to younger members. In the memoirs of Fray Jerónimo Sepúlveda, ceremonial apprenticeship within the royal palace and the direct ritual instruction of royal heirs appear as decisive factors behind the continuance of devotion to the viaticum. Sepúlveda took regular notes on the gradual incorporation of Philip II's teenage son into

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[16] Letters from Fra Stefano Dossena and Giovanni Botero to the Duke of Savoy, in Claudio Claretta, *Il principe Emanuele Filiberto di Savoia alla Corte di Spagna* (Turin, 1872), pp. 261–2.

[17] On the first Bourbon's encounters with the viaticum, see María José del Río Barredo, 'Los rituales públicos de Madrid en el cambio de dinastía (1700–1710)', in Eliseo Serrano (ed.), *Felipe V y su tiempo* (2 vols, Zaragoza, 2004), vol. 2, pp. 733–52. On the Habsburg pretender and his wife, Elisabeth Christine, see Coreth, *Pietas*, p. 17.

[18] Besides the books by Ribadeneira (dedicated to the future Philip III) and Salazar (dedicated to the future Philip IV), that of the Jesuit Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, *Corona Virtuosa y Virtud Coronada* (1643), was prepared for the education of Prince Baltasar Carlos (d. 1646).

processions celebrated in the royal monastery of the Escorial. The 18-year-old prince's encounter with the viaticum appears as one of a series of events designed to prepare him for the duties he would soon assume. Upon describing the ritual performed in the late 1590s, the friar emphasized that the entire event had transpired before the king's eyes, who remained in his coach and from there directed his son. Thus, the king himself ordered the prince to alight from the vehicle, kneel on the ground and then accompany the sacrament, with his head uncovered and a candle in one hand. Once he became king, Philip III took very seriously the education of his own children in religious ceremonial practice, of which adoration of the viaticum was an integral part. For instance, in instructions to his daughter Anne before sending her to France as Louis XIII's wife, Philip urged her not to forget the devotions she had learned in Spain, in particular those focused on the Virgin and the Eucharist. In relation to the latter he noted: 'and when you encounter it in the street, if you cannot accompany it yourself (as should sometimes be the case), alight from the coach to worship it and take whatever measures may be necessary in order that it may travel with the appropriate decorum'.[19] As one might expect, there is no evidence that the queen carried out this Habsburg ritual in seventeenth-century France, but her siblings did practise it on more receptive soil. In Madrid, Philip IV manifested this devotion publicly on several occasions, once in the company of his brother – probably the Infante Carlos. The Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand likewise practised this devotion in Flanders, where sources report that the spectacle of the encounter stunned local witnesses.[20] Their other sister, the Infanta Maria, wife of Emperor Ferdinand III, knew to inculcate her son in this ritual when he was a small boy. Writers of the era recalled other precocious examples of devotion and dynastic consciousness, including, among others, those associated with Philip IV's son, Prince Baltasar Carlos, who died very young.[21]

Women and images also seem to have played a crucial role in the transmission and preservation of this dynastic ritual. Often, moreover, the emotive dimension inherent in female piety and religious iconography overlapped in their sustaining power. Thus, for instance, the religious and ceremonial education of Philip III's offspring owed much to the active role of Queen Margaret of Austria, whose own solid religious education reflected the Styrian court of Graz. Detailed testimony of her pivotal role emerges in the almoner Diego de Guzmán's unpublished memoirs, as well as in his biography of the queen. The frontispiece of the book, published in

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[19] This royal instruction circulated far and wide at the time. It was included in, among other books, Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de las grandezas de la Villa de Madrid, Corte de los Reyes Católicos de España* (1623), p. 106.

[20] *Cartas de algunos padres de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 13, p. 172.

[21] On Mary of Hungary, see Francisco Jarque, *Sacra Consolatoria del tiempo en las guerras y otras calamidades públicas de la Casa de Austria* (1642), pp. 159–61, cited by Álvarez-Ossorio, introduction to Porreño, *Dichos y hechos*, p. 112. For Prince Baltasar Carlos, see Clément, *El machiavelismo degollado*, p. 139.

1617, features a large triumphal arch honouring the Habsburg dynasty. A depiction of Rudolph escorting the viaticum appears on one of the arch's pedestals. Within the book's chapters, this topic recurs as proof of the deeply held Eucharistic devotion of Margaret and other members of her family. Biographies of her brother Archduke Ferdinand, successor to the imperial Crown, similarly stress his emulation of Rudolph. Their sister Magdalena also showed her commitment to the propagation of her ancestor's piety in the grand duchy of Tuscany. She commissioned Matteo Rossetti to paint a scene of the accompaniment of the viaticum for display in the chambers of her son – the future Ferdinand II of Tuscany – in the villa of the Poggio Imperiale near Florence. Interestingly, a painting designed around the same devotional motif hung in his cousin Philip IV's chamber in the Alcazar of Madrid from around 1636 until his death in 1665.[22]

In effect, by the mid-seventeenth century the pious scene of the adoration of the viaticum around which the Habsburgs had modelled their ritual practices had become, quite literally, a recurring emblem of the dynasty. Apart from illustrating political treatises, as in Solórzano's emblem book, such scenes adorned the triumphal arches erected to celebrate the entries of queens into Madrid. For instance, in 1649 Marianna of Austria, second wife of Philip IV (and the daughter of Maria and Ferdinand III) was received in the capital via several triumphal arches, one of which gave pride of place to a scene of Rudolph accompanying the viaticum in the midst of a storm. The jurist Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado explained the dynastic and propitiatory meanings of this decorative motif, which he himself had designed, in an account of the fête he published in Spanish.[23] Although the context in which this devotional and political theme was set suggests that its goal was also to instruct the new queen, Marianna, as a Habsburg through and through, hardly needed such a lesson. In contrast, it could have been useful for her daughter-in-law Marie Louise (María Luisa) of Orléans, who entered Madrid as the wife of Charles II in 1680 and was received with several triumphal arches, including one dedicated to religion (Figure 2.1). In it was a scene of the viaticum, featuring this time not Rudolph but the queen mother as she yielded her litter to the Eucharist (Figure 2.2). Most likely, this scene alluded to the donation of litters that, as we learn in a contemporary poem, Marianna of Austria bestowed on the city's parishes in order to provide better protection for the viaticum during the winter. Also significant in this painting is the palace of Santa Cruz in the background, as that building housed the royal tribunal of court constables. Such a backdrop may well have served as a

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[22] Diego de Guzmán, *Reina Católica. Vida y muerte de D. Margarita de Austria* (1617), pp. 114–15. On the Florentine frescoes, see Coreth, *Pietas*, p. 30. The painting in the Alcázar was by Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Wildens, *Acto de devoción de Rodolfo I de Habsburgo* (oil, 198 × 283 cm) in the Prado Museum, cat. 1645. It is mentioned in Steven N. Orso, *Art and Death at the Spanish Habsburg Court: The Royal Exequies for Philip IV* (Columbia, MO, 1989), p. 76.

[23] *Noticia del recibimiento i entrada de la Reina nuestra señora doña Maria-Ana de Austria en la muy noble y leal coronada Villa de Madrid* [1649], p. 93.

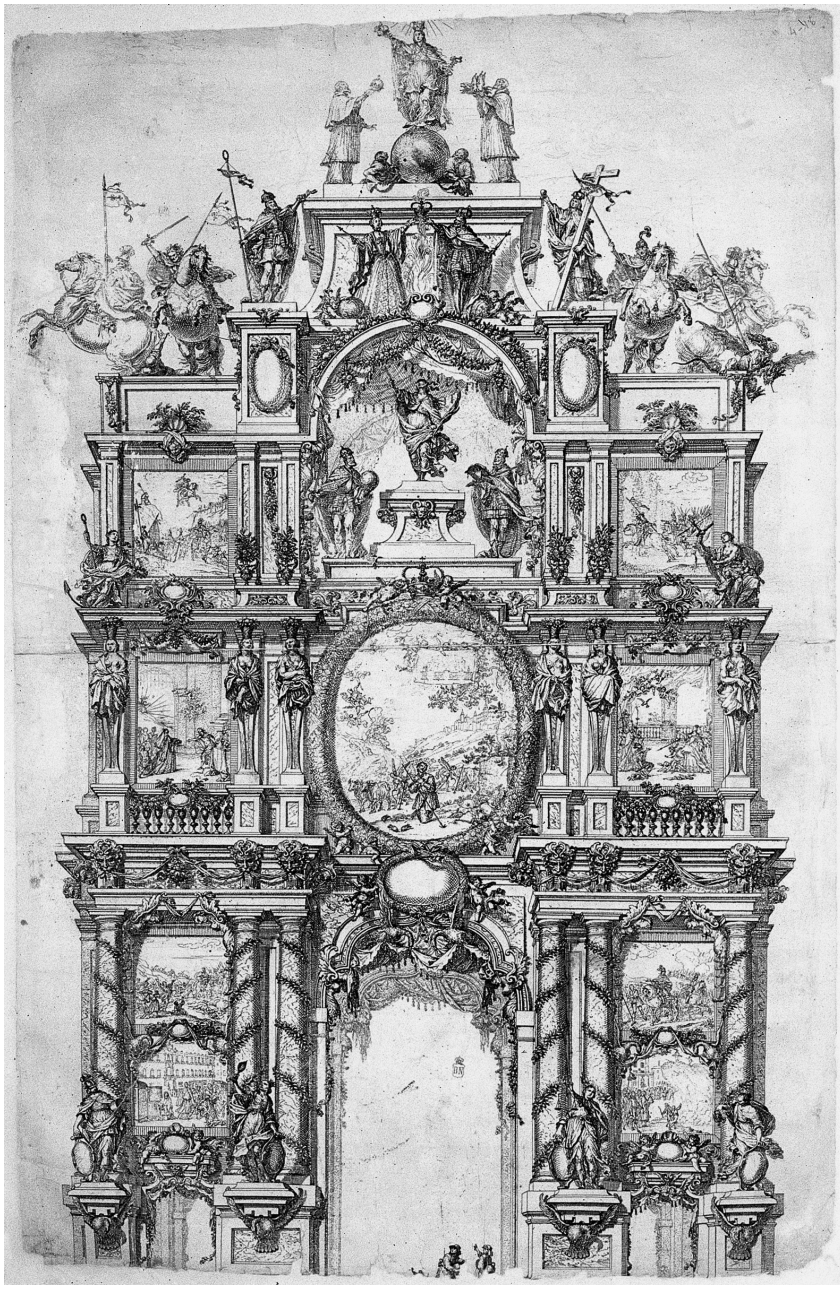

Figure 2.1 Arch of Puerta del Sol for the entry of Queen María Luisa of Orleans, 1680. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Estampas, Inventario 70861 © Biblioteca Nacional de España

Figure 2.2 'Mariana of Austria yields her litter to the Eucharist', Arch of Puerta del Sol for the entry of Queen María Luisa of Orleans, 1680 (detail). Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Estampas, Inventario 70861 © Biblioteca Nacional de España

reminder of the queen mother's great political power as regent, which she wielded *ex officio* at that time.[24]

Indeed, Marianna may have retained a powerful influence over the viaticum encounters that involved her son, Charles II. These rituals deserve separate consideration in light of the unprecedented publicity which surrounded them. Through them we can explore in greater detail the different roles Madrid's inhabitants came to play in this royal ritual. In the following section, we find them acting as witnesses, commentators and even co-protagonists in this important ritual.

Communion and Community

The importance of the public in the royal viaticum rituals of the late seventeenth century is as striking as its absence in earlier years. There had always been eyewitnesses who reported having seen the ritual. But the encounters between Charles II and the Eucharist in the 1680s were discussed on a broader scale, not only in private correspondence, memoirs and political literature, but also in brief printed accounts and manuscript poems of quite diverse authorship. The intended audience was clearly much wider, prompting us to ask again whether these royal encounters with the viaticum were conceived as deliberate acts of propaganda intended to convey values or to sway public opinion.

Charles II's two performances can still be considered instances of personal supplication for God`s favour. Such gestures were particularly urgent at a time when the Spanish monarchy faced political decline in the international arena, internal instability and economic crisis. Indeed, accounts of these ritual episodes gave voice to both dynastic concerns and the needs of the king's subjects. This collectivity, represented by the people of Madrid, showed their presence as highly active public participants in these royal performances. Their actions included the writing of commemorative poetry of a generally laudatory nature on the first occasion. On the second, they were united with the king in this ritual.

Charles II's first encounter with the viaticum took place at the end of January 1685, when he spent a Saturday afternoon riding in a carriage on the outskirts of the city. While in the countryside, the royal retinue met a priest carrying the viaticum to a gardener. Without pausing, the king stepped out of his coach, knelt, made reverence and then insisted that the priest and the Eucharist travel in his carriage while he walked alongside until the procession reached the convalescent's home. During the return journey to Madrid, Charles followed the carriage with the viaticum in another coach. But at the town's entrance he chose again to alight and

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[24] Maria Teresa Zapata, *La entrada en la Corte de María Luisa de Orleans. Arte y Fiesta en el Madrid de Carlos II* (Madrid, 2000), p. 129. The theme of the yielding of the litter is recorded in the ballad 'Romance nuevo, en que se refiere la acción Católica que ejecutó el Rey nuestro señor Don Carlos Segundo (que Dios guarde) el día veinte de Enero deste año de 1685 …' [1685] in RAHM, Jesuitas, 9-3.550, n. 10.

escort the Eucharist on foot to the church of St Mark, a decision which suggests that publicity did matter. Indeed, the ritual gained wide dissemination through printed reports and in the many celebratory poems that circulated immediately afterwards in manuscript.[25] The event was also publicized in an image printed in 1685 by the Dutch engraver Romeyn de Hooghe (Figures 2.3 and 2.4).[26]

Hooghe's engraving depicts the precise moment the royal coach stopped to allow the monarch to revere the host while a number of people from different social backgrounds witnessed the scene. The appearance of Habsburg Emperor Rudolph I in the upper part of the image recalls the original model for this act of piety, a point also emphasized in the commemorative poetry. It also seems to evoke the renewed ties between the Spanish and the imperial branches of the dynasty during the war against the Turks. The Spanish monarchy had played only a secondary part in this enterprise, but the viaticum scene may have recalled the close relationship between Marianna, the queen mother, and her brother, Emperor Leopold. In fact, many of the poems celebrating Charles's piety were either written by members of Marianna's household or dedicated to her. Some of these eulogized the decisive role she had played, as queen and regent, in her son's religious formation, which was also a recurring theme in the iconography of the period. The queen mother's supporters at court must have welcomed this opportunity to draw attention to their renewed influence. This new strength reversed a long period of rivalry and conflict instigated by the king's half-brother, Don Juan José of Austria, who had encouraged a policy of alignment with France.[27]

Charles II's encounter with the viaticum in 1685 also had an inaugural character. Although the sovereign was, by this time, a decade past the age of majority, his manifest physical and mental disabilities, as well as the ambitions of his immediate circle, had kept him from fulfilling his royal role. Some chroniclers thus placed particular emphasis on the notion that the king had made his own decision to venerate the viaticum, thereby presenting evidence of his fitness to assume the reins of power. Thus, the most detailed account of the episode reported admiringly

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[25] An important collection of accounts and poems on this event can be found in RAHM, Jesuitas, 9-3550. See in particular the proposal for a poetry contest commemorating the event in quintillas (five-line poems), *Acción Católica, y Rendido Zelo* ... [1685].

[26] The engraving signed by Hooghe in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (BNM), Estampas Inv. 14738 (etching, 32.5 × 41.8 cm). An anonymous copy appears in BNM, Estampas Inv. 14735 (etching, 22 × 41.2 cm). Other images by the same engraver depicting Charles II appear in John Landwehr, *Romeyn de Hooghe the Etcher: Contemporary Portrayal of Europe 1662–1707* (Leyden and New York, 1973), pp. 143 and 235. See also Coreth, *Pietas*, p. 17.

[27] For the political context, see Gabriel de Maura, *Vida y reinado de Carlos II* (Madrid, 1954 [first edition, 1911 and 1915]) and Christopher Storrs, *The Resilience of the Spanish Monarchy 1665–1700* (Oxford, 2006). For royal iconography of the time, see Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, 'Retrato de Estado y propaganda política: Carlos II (en el tercer centenario de su muerte)', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, 12 (2000): 93–109.

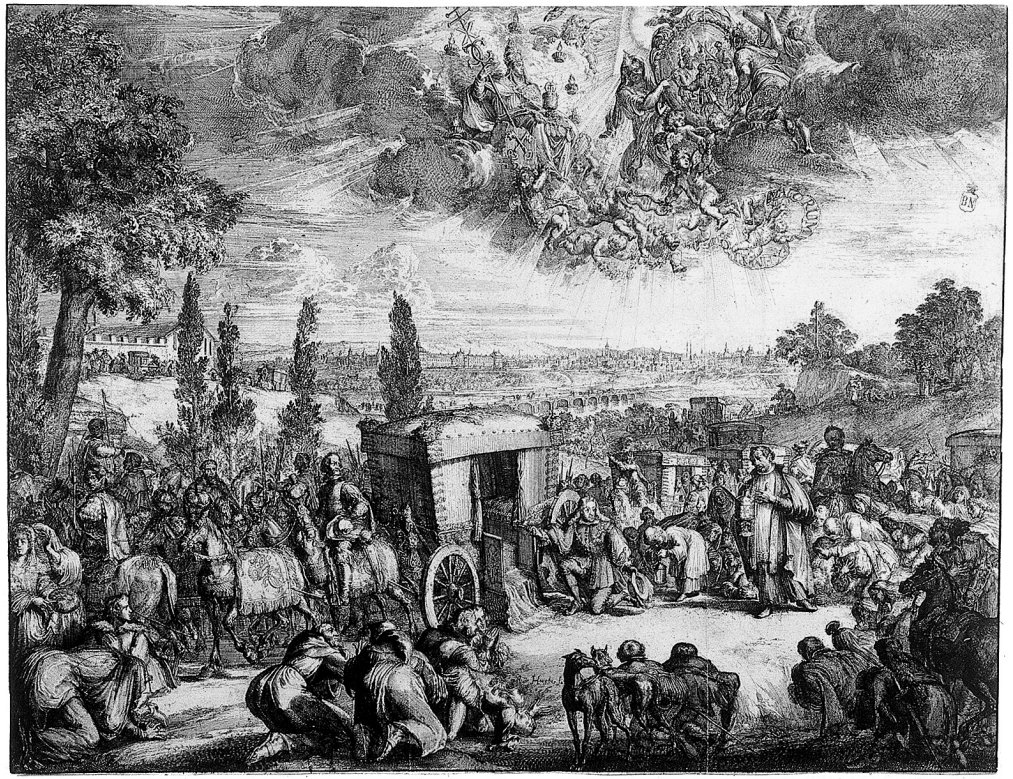

Figure 2.3 R. de Hoogue, ‘Charles II yields his carriage to the Most Holy Sacrament’. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Estampas, Inventario 14738 © Biblioteca Nacional de España

Figure 2.4 R. de Hoogue, 'Charles II yields his carriage to the Most Holy Sacrament' (detail). Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Estampas, Inventario 14738 © Biblioteca Nacional de España

that the king had carried out this pious action 'with no other advice than his own observation; no other counsel than his own prompt word; and no other ceremony than his heart's natural instinct to follow the pious dictates of Faith.'[28] The theme of the king's new-found maturity was reiterated by the poets recording the event, who suggested also that it augured the imminent arrival of an heir.

In common with earlier viaticum rituals, this royal performance of 1685 celebrated dynastic continuity and military power. What was less familiar, however, was the event's commemoration in special poetry competitions and the extent to which these literary competitions drew in people from different social categories. An examination of this occasional poetry reveals a great variety of reactions, both in terms of tone and content. For instance, while most of those who answered the invitation of a Sevillian printer to compose verses commemorating the ritual employed the same elevated and elegiac tone as poets from palace circles, scrutiny of their subject matter reveals an undercurrent of criticism concerning the state of the monarchy and the king's ignorance about public affairs. Moreover, the verses convey a sense of satirical scepticism toward what some of the poets considered overly rapturous eulogies of an action that merely represented the king's duty. Thus, Fernando Bustamante Bustillo, a self-described 'unpaid veteran', insinuated that Charles II had merely done what was expected of him, while neglecting other obligations such as learning about the disarray of state affairs and attending to the needs of the people. Similarly, a sonnet signed by Don Gabriel de Toledo Pellicer likened the poets' obsequious praise to a chorus of shrill swans. The sonneteer thus mocks their deafening music which, after all, only broadcast a duty performed.[29]

Particularly noteworthy instances of sceptical commemoration emerge in the poems written for the literary academy celebrated in a private residence in Madrid just two weeks after the royal viaticum encounter. The academy's secretary set the tone for the contest by adding grotesque scenes of local colour to his account of the ritual. Specifically, a fight breaks out in the invalid's house between an innkeeper and some blind men who requested details of the event 'so as to be able to declaim it on street corners'; in addition, the mules that had pulled the royal carriage argue that they deserve to retire from service after participating in such a momentous event. In a similar vein, other poems embellish their accounts with popular characters such as a boastful sacristan, a lowly washerwoman and even an allegorized Manzanares River, which demands primacy over the world's other rivers for having been the 'theatre of such a heroic action'. For all their burlesque flavour, it is unlikely that the intention of these satirically minded poets was actually to denigrate the royal rituals. After all, the poetic encounter took place during carnival, timing that suggests the jokes partook of the season's licence. The participants' social backgrounds also militate against reading too much criticism into these texts: that is, they were members of the royal household, *letrados* of

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[28] *Acción Católica, y Rendido Zelo* [1685], RAHM, Jesuitas 9-3550, n. 1.

[29] Fernando A. Bustamante Bustillo, *A la más augusta, soberana acción religiosa*, unbound folio [1685] RAHM, Jesuitas, 9-3550 n. 6, and n. 11 for Pellicer's sonnet.

various royal councils, clergymen and well-known literary figures of the time. Furthermore, the host, Don Pedro de Arce, was probably also celebrating his recent promotion to alderman of Madrid city council. Given this social landscape**,** the jokes about the king's pious action were probably intended to demystify the royal ritual rather than subvert it.[30] Certainly, no evidence survives to indicate that court officials found such commemorative poetry offensive or unacceptable.

Nevertheless, the manner of Charles II's next encounter with the viaticum suggests the king and his advisors strove to replay the earlier pious action in a way that was less susceptible to ambiguous interpretations. This second royal encounter with the viaticum took place just three years after the first, in the vicinity of the same outlying parish of St Mark. Despite the similar setting, the encounter played out in a markedly different manner. It occurred on Sunday, 16 May, when the king crossed paths with a religious cortège as it was leaving the church. On this occasion, it was not an ordinary cortège of the viaticum but a more elaborate parochial procession bringing Easter communion to the bedridden inhabitants of the district. Charles II behaved as in the previous case: he exited the coach, took a candle from the hands of his chief steward and joined the Eucharistic retinue on the full ceremonial route through the neighbouring streets. As customary in this kind of procession, the cortège stopped at the houses of a number of sick parishioners, to whom the king gave consolation and alms. In addition to praising his piety and charity, the anonymous author of a printed chapbook highlighted the good example Charles set for the noble bystanders, who, eager to emulate him, also joined the procession. Drawing a connection to other viaticum rituals in which past Spanish kings had participated, the author also emphasized the merits of the Habsburg dynasty, as demonstrated in the recent military victories against the Turks in Vienna and Buda. Finally, the author expressed hope that God would reward Charles's pious gesture by granting him an heir to bring 'relief to his vassals and succour to all of his kingdoms'.[31]

Without a doubt, the king's actions during this encounter exceeded the standards for such rituals as set forth in ecclesiastical and civil laws, as well as in terms of precedents set by his ancestors. The accompaniment of a procession along its entire route involved no small feat of exertion for a monarch notoriously uncomfortable with palace etiquette that obliged Spanish kings to participate in

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[30] *Academia a que dio asumpto la Religiosa y Católica acción* [1685], BNM, Varios Especiales 125/5. On this alderman, see Mauro Hernández, *A la sombra de la Corona. Poder local y oligarquía urbana* (Madrid, 1995), p. 387.

[31] The only known account of this ritual appears in an undated, four-page pamphlet, *Relación verdadera en que se da cuenta y declara el Real Acompañamiento que hizo Nuestro Católico Monarca Carlos Segundo el Domingo diez y seis deste presente mes de Mayo, en la Procesión del SS. Sacramento, que salió de la Iglesia de San Marcos, a visitar a los Impedidos de su Parroquia* [1688] BNM, Varios Especiales, 24–30; 1688 is the most probable date because it was the first year after the military victory cited in the text (Buda, 1686) in which 16 May fell on a Sunday.

official processions of Corpus Christi whenever they were in Madrid on that feast day. Perhaps Charles II felt more comfortable undertaking this kind of action on a smaller scale in a less familiar setting, where he could take more specific individual initiative. We find such initiative in an analogous Eucharistic procession the court celebrated in the 1680s in the Escorial, in which the king played an exemplary role before a restless court aristocracy. In terms of the viaticum procession of 1688, there is little doubt it marked a profound change when it situated Charles II among the people. Such a framework for kingly action, while dramatic, was not entirely unprecedented. Two decades earlier, Queen Marianna had already taken him on a series of public visits to various parish churches. By so doing, she sought to win the support of the urban population, thereby countering Don Juan José's appeals to the aristocracy through satire and political manifestos.[32] The later participation by the adult Charles II in a neighbourhood procession may, likewise, have signalled a search for consensus.

Pausing to contemplate the procession the king joined in 1688, we can situate it in the category of urban ceremonies with a decidedly popular nature in which symbols of unity and community abound. By the end of the seventeenth century, these kinds of ceremonies were known as *procesiones del Viático* or *procesiones de impedidos* (invalids); as such, they had become the most important Eucharistic celebrations of Madrid neighbourhoods. They played out, in essence, as pared-down Corpus Christi celebrations at the parish level rather than city-wide festivities. A viaticum procession would thus feature a cortège comprised of neighbourhood representatives. Along its route, the principal institutions based in a parish, including monasteries, schools and confraternities, placed altars and organized amusements for the moment the procession passed by. In short, each *procesión de impedidos* took shape as a communal act of charity and celebration. In the words of a 1662 account of one such procession, it offered the opportunity to bring 'relief to the sick' and to 'celebrate the Creator in the Sacrament'.[33]

The crucial collectivities behind these celebrations were the confraternities of the Holy Sacrament, which existed in each parish. These groups – comprised of relatively humble artisans, shopkeepers and salaried officials – organized, sponsored and took part in the solemnities. From their origins in the late Middle Ages, one of the primary obligations of Eucharistic confraternities was to accompany and illuminate the viaticum whenever it was taken to the home of the sick of their parish. The prestige that Tridentine reformers gave these organizations

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[32] Maura, *Vida y reinado*, p. 100. See also ibid., p. 176, for Charles's reluctance to participate in Madrid's Corpus Christi procession.

[33] *Redondillas, aplaudiendo la solemne majestad y no imitada grandeza con que salió el Santísimo Sacramento a último de abril de la celebrada parroquia de san Miguel a visitar a los enfermos, año de 1662*, BNM, Varios Especiales, 159/33. See also María José del Río Barredo, 'Eucaristía y vecindad: las procesiones parroquiales de Madrid en la Edad Moderna', in Laura Barletta (ed.), *Integrazione ed emarginazione. Circuiti e modelli: Italia e Spagna nei secoli XV–XVIII* (Naples, 2002), pp. 129–63.

contributed to the Easter viaticum processions' increased importance. Indeed, from the mid-seventeenth century, these celebrations surpassed other parish festivities in popularity, including patron saints' days. As such, they constituted a resonant expression of communal ties.[34]

The increasing importance of the *procesiones de impedidos* within the city parishes could hardly have escaped Charles II and his advisors, offering appropriate contexts for the king to highlight his membership in an idealized community of Christian faithful. By joining the humble cortège of a neighbourhood procession and thus, momentarily, becoming part of a cohesive and charitable community, the king found a seemingly efficacious framework in which to present his supplications for God's assistance on behalf of the besieged monarchy. That these occasions could also be focal points for friction among the participants does not diminish the importance of this last recorded encounter of a Spanish Habsburg monarch with the viaticum. It marked an extraordinary and – for this type of celebration – unique moment in which royal and popular piety overlapped.

In conclusion, I would like to say a few words about the decline of the royal encounters with the viaticum in eighteenth-century Madrid. This dynastic ritual did not long survive the extinction of the Spanish Habsburgs, although dynastic change alone cannot account fully for its disappearance. After all, Philip V of Bourbon had no qualms about deploying it in order to legitimize his pretensions to the Spanish throne. He undertook this ritual in a manner worthy of previous Spanish monarchs. Nonetheless, Charles II, rather than Rudolph I, was the explicit model presented in the numerous poems written to commemorate the first Spanish Bourbon's encounters with the viaticum in 1701. These texts and records of the ritual itself make clear that this religious practice was suitable for interpretation in a more wide-ranging framework than the merely dynastic, as it could also evoke Spanish royalty overall. Sporadic performances of the royal ritual recorded in the next decades suggest that the devotional practice may well have continued to flourish in Spain.[35] But this would not be the case. Perhaps in the end, the Bourbon monarchs found it difficult to compete with the members of the Central European branch of the Habsburgs, who maintained and accentuated the viaticum ritual to the point that it became a most significant part of imperial ceremonial, both within and beyond their family lands. In Habsburg realms, Eucharistic devotion came to stand out from the other devotions that characterized the *pietas austriaca*. In

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[34] On these confraternities and the communal dimension of parochial Eucharist devotions, see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven and London, 1992), ch. 3, and Elena Sánchez de Madariaga, *Cofradías y sociabilidad en el Madrid del Antiguo Régimen* (PhD thesis, University Autónoma of Madrid, 1996), pp. 293–429.

[35] *Aplausos christianos de nuestro gran monarca* (1701) and *Sagradas flores del Parnasso* (n.d.), Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Madrid III/6494, n. 10 and XIV/630. *Crónica festiva de dos reinados en la Gaceta de Madrid* (1700–1759), ed. M. Torrone (Toulouse, 1998), pp. 33 and 251.

contrast, in Spain devotion to the Immaculate Conception gradually became the religious cult most closely associated with the Spanish monarchy overall, not just the Habsburg dynasty, with enthusiastic support of kings and subjects alike from the beginning of the seventeenth century onward.[36]

Retrenchment of the royal viaticum ritual notwithstanding, this devotional practice continued to exert a very powerful hold on local religion. Evidence suggests that the practice of paying reverence to and escorting the Eucharist while it travelled to the sick had established official roots among the people, who perceived it as a sign of community and even as a means of exclusion. Such a discriminatory function might have had its origins in medieval laws which had positioned the viaticum as a boundary marker between Christians and non-Christians. Specifically, laws obliged Christians to accompany and revere the viaticum, but at the same time they exempted Jews and Muslims from this obligation. Surviving testimonies of the ritual from the modern era record the zeal Spaniards displayed as they enforced such laws. Accounts of the ferocity unleashed against those who transgressed the rules suggest that the ritual had evolved into both a manifestation of orthodoxy and a mechanism for uncovering and punishing the unorthodox, whether heretics or liberals. One instance of this appears in an anecdote recounted by the nineteenth-century non-conformist writer José Blanco White, who describes in detail the abuse and jeers directed at those who failed to show adequate reverence to the viaticum.[37] As late as the early twentieth century, the obligation to worship the viaticum became a token of political sympathy in the polarized struggle between Catholics and anti-clericals; those who failed to show due reverence could be fined or suffer imprisonment.[38] As for the more solemn *procesiónes de impedidos* within the parishes of Madrid, records attest to a blossoming in the eighteenth century and continued importance in neighbourhood celebrations until the mid-twentieth century. In this time period, such processions existed almost entirely outside the sphere of court influence. All that remained of the Habsburgs' traditions was the practice of sending a royal carriage from the palace to carry the parish priest and the viaticum.[39]

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[36] Adriano Prosperi, 'L'Immacolata a Siviglia e la fondazione sacra della monarchia spagnola', *Studi Storici*, 47/2 (2006): 481–510.

[37] *Cartas de España* (Madrid, 1983; first published in English in 1822), pp. 44–6.

[38] William Christian, *Moving Crucifixes in Modern Spain* (Princeton, 1992), p. 115. Julio de la Cueva Merino, *Clericales y Anticlericales: El Conflicto entre confesionalidad y secularización en Cantabria (1875–1923)* (Santander, 1991), p. 170.

[39] Requests for and concessions of royal carriages destined for *procesiónes de impedidos* from 1878 to 1908 survive in the Archivo General de Palacio, Madrid, Administración General, caja 87741, expediente 1; caja 8772/27 and caja 8773/1. The association of carriage, viaticum and Spanish royalty grounds Prosper Merimée's 1829 farce *Le carrosse du Saint Sacrament*, which Jean Renoir made into a 1953 film, *Le carrosse d'or*.

Chapter 3

Monks of Honour: The Knights of Malta and Criminal Behaviour in Early Modern Rome

Carmel Cassar

Violence and criminal behaviour were pervasive features of social life in early modern Rome and they featured prominently in the penal code. The analysis that follows will demonstrate the frequent occurrence of violence among knights of the Order of St John as part of everyday interchange in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Rome, and will explore the associated meanings of violence for manhood. Violence will be defined in terms of the infliction of physical harm or humiliation for a wide variety of ends, through which a spectrum of cultural meanings were derived, contested and reinforced. This should help us evaluate the functions of violence as an expression of manliness and honour. As Peter Burke has clearly shown, 'honour was a much-debated subject in early modern Italy'.[1] It is through the examination of routine outbreaks of violent behaviour that the links between criminal behaviour and masculinity can be explored.

The greatest obstacle to this approach is the nature of the surviving evidence of criminal behaviour. The cases discussed here, largely drawn from the criminal records of the Governor of Rome, are based on the testimonies of participants and victims and are thus riddled with interpretative difficulties. For example the records provide only vague indications of the perpetrators' causes or intentions. Often the nature and cause of violent disorder have to be inferred from narratives of litigants and witnesses that were, perhaps, shaped more by legal processes than by real events. The discussion, therefore, focuses on the ways in which violence was very often the counterpoint of knightly honour and prestige.

Desmond Seward describes the Knights of Malta as 'noblemen vowed to poverty, chastity and obedience, living a monastic life in convents which were at the same time barracks, waging war on the enemies of the Cross'. A blend of monastic and military life was shared by the Knights Hospitaller, the Templars and the Teutonic knights over a span of almost 200 years in the Holy Lands. After being driven out of the Holy Lands, the Knights Hospitaller devoted themselves to the defence of the Mediterranean shores and the protection of Christian merchant shipping against the might of the Ottoman Empire and later the Barbary corsairs,

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[1] Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 13.

first from Rhodes and then from Malta (the *corso*).[2] This is the traditional image portrayed by historians, basing themselves on the accounts provided by early modern chroniclers of the Order such as Giacomo Bosio, Bartolomeo dal Pozzo and the Abbé de Vertot,[3] who continually stressed the heroic role played by the knights in defending the Holy Lands, Rhodes and later Malta.[4] The discussion that follows moves away from this approach. Rather than emphasizing the military and religious ideals of the knights as an order of warrior monks, this study seeks to highlight their role as members of an elite group of men who, like other men of their age, resorted to violence when they felt the need. It is important to stress, however, that this violent pattern of behaviour clashed with their designated role as members of a religious order.

The privileges of the knights, as a monastic military order, were strenuously defended by successive popes, who relied on these warrior monks for the continued defence of Malta against the Ottoman threat. In Malta and in the Papal States the knights were exempted from secular justice; at the same time they were immune from local ecclesiastical tribunals, so that the responsibility for investigating their criminal activity and dispensing their subsequent punishment fell directly on Rome. Nonetheless the post-Tridentine popes faced a serious and ongoing problem posed by the criminal behaviour of many individual knights of St John.[5]

For their part the European nobility frequently sought initiation into the Order for their male offspring, which removed potentially resentful cadet sons from their estates, reduced the possibility of an overproduction of heirs through the acceptance of holy orders and provided an outlet for youthful ardour through the *corso*. On their establishment in Malta, these young men completed a term of residence in the convent and received religious and military training to serve on the Order's galleys. They also performed administrative services in the various congregations that administered the Order. Those who wished to obtain higher offices remained in Malta. Others who had obtained a captaincy could claim preferential rights to a commandery in Europe to which they could retire and administer on behalf of

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[2] Desmond Seward, *The Monks of War: The Military Religious Orders* (Harmondsworth, 1995), pp. 17–18.

[3] Giacomo Bosio, *Dell'istoria della Sacra Religione et ill.ma militia di S. Gio. Gerosolimitano* (3 vols, Rome, 1594–1602); Bartolomeo Dal Pozzo, *Historia della Sacra Religione Militare di San Giovanni Gerosolimitano, detta di Malta* (2 vols, Verona, 1703 and Venice, 1715); René Aubert de Vertot, *The History of the Knights of Malta* (2 vols, London, 1728).

[4] Whitworth Porter, *A History of the Knights of Malta* (London, 1858); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310* (London, 1967); Ernle Bradford, *The Shield and the Sword* (New York, 1973); H.J.A. Sire, *The Knights of Malta* (New Haven, 1994).

[5] Anthony D. Wright, *The Early Modern Papacy: From the Council of Trent to the French Revolution 1564–1789* (London, 2000), p. 93.

the Order.[6] The Order could therefore draw upon an extensive and generationally replenished human resource (the younger disinherited sons of the European nobility) and offer them social roles and identities befitting noblemen. Knights of 'the Religion' were thus found not only in Malta – their administrative, military and religious centre – but throughout Europe, where their religious vows were often contradicted by their social upbringing as nobles and their military training as warriors. Inevitably, away from the restraining influence of the convent in Malta, such men often embroiled themselves in complex, potentially violent social situations in which they were subject to both civil and ecclesiastical powers, as well as being foreign nationals and members of a religious Order.[7]

The knights, though theoretically tied by vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, consistently ignored their vows. They were clearly privileged, rich, certainly not chaste and often disobedient to their superiors. It was not uncommon for a knight, or a group of knights, to resort to excessive violence to stress their point. One such violent occurrence broke out in July 1568 when a group of young Castilian knights, condemned for writing pasquinades against the ruling Grand Master Jean de La Valette (1557–1568), entered the magisterial palace and ransacked the chancellor's desk.[8] The chronicler of the Order, Fra Bartolomeo Dal Pozzo, asserts that during the reign of Grand Master Jean Levêque de La Cassière (1572–1582) the worst problem was not fear of an Ottoman invasion but the unruly behaviour of the knights who were in perpetual discord among themselves.[9]

Sometimes the Holy See withdrew its support of the Order. For example, when in spring of 1599 the knight Fra Carlo Valdina was disrespectful and slapped the secretary of the Roman Inquisition Tribunal of Malta, the Inquisitor was prompt to take legal action against the knight and, in a rare stance, Pope Clement VIII (1592–1605) sided with the Inquisitor.[10] In a 1624 report addressed to Father Fioravanti, then the Jesuit confessor of Pope Urban VIII (1623–1644), the behaviour of most knights in Malta is described as 'scandalous'.[11]

In 1627 Pope Urban VIII issued a decree by which knights were ordered to refrain from keeping concubines[12] – a command ignored by many members of the

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6 Sire, *Knights*, p. 92.

7 Carmel Cassar, 'Justices and Injustices: the Order of St John, the Holy See, and the Appeals Tribunal in Rome', *History and Anthropology*, 19/4 (2008): 305–23, p. 308.

8 National Library of Malta, MS 632, pp. 60–62.

9 Dal Pozzo, *Historia*, vol. 1, p. 128.

10 Ibid., pp. 415–16. On 23 July 1599 the Cardinal Secretary of the Holy Office informed Inquisitor Hortensio of the Pope's favourable decision. But the Inquisitor was urged to proceed against the knight Valdina with great care in order to convince the knights that by his action the Inquisitor was only trying to uphold the dignity of the Holy Office. Archivum Inquisitionis Melitensis, Malta (henceforward AIM), Corrispondenza, vol. 1, fol. 29.

11 Archivio di Stato, Rome (henceforward ASR), Archivio Camerale, III, busta 1274, p. 10. Report dated 25 August 1624.

12 Ibid., busta 1276, n.p.

Order. Nevertheless the Holy See deemed it fit to confirm publicly that 'the banner with the white cross on a red field (the banner of the Order of St John) has always been honoured and favoured above all the others by the Holy Apostolic See'.[13]

Why were the Knights of St John so highly privileged? The Langues of the Order always contained among their members some from the highest-ranking aristocratic elites of Catholic Europe, and the Holy See had to ensure good diplomatic relations with the states of these Langues.

Since all the cases of violence under examination here occurred in Rome, a brief outline of the city's socio-political character is essential to evaluate the ways in which the knights undermined legitimate authority. In early modern times social life in the city of Rome was tainted by excessive violence through all its echelons, making it very hard for the authorities to control. The records of the Governor's court abound with accounts of stabbings, shootings, brawls, fist fights, commotions and various other forms of disruption to public peace and order. This type of behaviour was prevalent throughout Mediterranean Europe in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but for political and social reasons Rome became a catalyst as it had developed into a cultural centre and attracted all sorts of patron-client relationships. Furthermore, the city's administration was relatively weak, enouragaing the inhabitants to take matters into their own hands. The situation was further complicated since Rome was largely a city of immigrants and visitors, and native Romans were in a minority. Hordes of foreigners went to Rome on business or to seek work. Others were on pilgrimage to the Holy City, or soliciting political and economic patronage. Moreover, each visiting nobleman, prelate or ambassador brought with him a retinue of servants, retainers and hangers-on. Karen Liebreich recently estimated that some two-thirds of Rome's population consisted of either immigrants or passers-by.[14]

This was a city with a large unmarried male population, and Rome could be described as a city of 'loose men' often quick to resort to violence, to which the state responded with repression.[15] One area of tension concerned relationships between men and women, although, as Thomas Kuehn has shown, clear-cut dichotomies between male and female did not exist in Renaissance Italy.[16] Despite this, many Italians assumed that any woman without a male protector could easily end up as a 'loose woman', reducing herself and her family to a calamitous situation. Honour was treasured more than life itself, and figured as a top priority.[17] On the other

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[13] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (henceforward BAV), Barb. Lat. 5285, fol. 289.

[14] Karen Liebreich, *Fallen Order: Intrigue, Heresy and Scandal in the Rome of Galileo and Caravaggio* (London, 2004), p. 3.

[15] Thomas V. Cohen and Elizabeth S. Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome: Trials before the Papal Magistrates* (Toronto, 1993), pp. 20–27.

[16] Thomas Kuehn, 'Person and Gender in the Laws', in Judith C. Brown and Robert C. Davis (eds), *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy* (London, 1998), pp. 105–6.

[17] See, for example, Sharon T. Strocchia, 'Gender and the Rites of Honour in Italian Renaissance Cities', ibid., pp. 39–60; Guido Ruggiero, '"Più che la vita caro": onore,

hand, men felt the need to prove their sexual competence. In such circumstances a relationship could either develop or come to a cataclysmic end. Of course there were instances where a woman would politely refuse a man's flirtatious invitation, and accept another suitor's hand, but the typical response to such a rejection would be a barrage of insults and foul language. In extreme cases the loser would resort to murdering his successful rival.

This is precisely how the romantic adventure of Giovanni Battista Fagnano ended. The protagonists in this love triangle were the courtesan Pasqua Padovani, the Florentine Knight of Malta Giovanni Battista Soderino and the impoverished Milanese gentleman, and lover of Pasqua, Giovannni Battista Fagnano. On 30 November 1562 the servant boy of Fagnano reported that his master had, the night before, been murdered by the knight Soderino. Fagnano, after ensuring that Signora Pasqua was on her own at home, had expressed the wish to visit her. Fagnano's wish was granted, but some 15 minutes later the two lovers were joined by the knight Soderino, accompanied by a friend (Mastro Scipione Corbinello) and two servants. When he found that Fagnano had preceded him, Soderino turned to Pasqua and said:

> 'You know well that I told you that I do not wish to be in a place where there is this one', referring to my master [Fagnano] because: 'His humour is incompatible with mine and we may commit an act of madness!' And on hearing these words my master replied: 'Why is this Sir knight! What annoyance have I caused you?' And the knight replied: 'You know well Fagnano what you did to me!' … and he took out his dagger, went near my master and slashed his face on the right side and hit him with the point of his dagger under his right breast. And my master put his hand on his dagger and tried to defend himself, but he fell.[18]

By claiming that Fagnano's 'humour is incompatible with mine' the knight Soderino seems to imply that Fagnano's character was abhorrent to him. After all Fagnano was an impoverished gentleman whom he had offered to support financially. So when Fagnano proved better than him in capturing the attention of a woman it was much more than Soderino could bear. Soderino's attitude seems equivalent to what David Gilmore calls 'an image of manliness' that forms an integral part of male 'personal honour and reputation'.[19] Soderino was in essence a 'real man' who had to prove himself in a struggle with other men and in his ability to dominate

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matrimonio, e reputazione feminile nel tardo rinascimento', *Quaderni Storici*, 16 (1987): 753–75; Elizabeth S. Cohen, 'Honour and Gender in the Streets of Early Modern Rome', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 22 (1992): 597–625.

[18] ASR, Tribunale Criminale del Governatore (henceforward TCG), sec. XVI busta 76, fol. 575v, 30 November 1562.

[19] David D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven, 1990), p. 31.

women.[20] By warning that 'an act of madness' might follow Soderino meant an act of revenge under a code which Edward Muir claims 'subjected' young men 'to discordant imperatives that forced them to act in ways that were evasive or impulsive, paranoid or self-destructive, timid or overly aggressive'.[21]

Rejection, without doubt, was popularly regarded as a humiliating experience which a man of honour like the Knight of Malta Soderino could not accept. It is evident that his behaviour was determined by a need to reassert his manhood and continue proving it to himself and others.

Male friendships at the time could be extremely competitive, with drinking in taverns and bragging of sexual exploits. The underlying insecurity that many men felt is revealed by their need to seek continually the admiration of their peers as they took the first steps towards manhood. Honour, notoriously fragile, was often a source of prickliness, thin-skinned sensitivity, boastful swagger and struggle for a prominent position in the social hierarchy. All these attitudes encouraged duelling, which became a very common practice in mid-sixteenth-century Rome. Pierre de Bourdaille, seigneur de Brantôme, who spent three months in Rome after the demise of Pope Paul IV (1555–1559), reported that duels were commonplace.[22] It has often been claimed that duelling throughout Italy receded after the famous anti-duelling decree of the final session of the Council of Trent in 1564.[23] However documentary evidence proves otherwise.

In Malta documents for the period under study are packed with references to knights duelling among themselves. The documentary evidence seems to suggest that the duelling activities of a religious order of monks who had vowed poverty, chastity and obedience, like the Knights of St John, caused the Holy See great embarrassment. It was not uncommon for the Secretary of State of the Holy See to remind a ruling Grand Master to punish duellists harshly. Cardinal Aldobrandini was particularly insistent on this issue with Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt in 1610. For his part the Grand Master promised that he would do his utmost to ensure that this violent habit was kept under strict control.[24] But it appears that the knights themselves were reluctant to divulge any information about their

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[20] Edward Muir, 'The Double Binds of Manly Revenge in Renaissance Italy', in Richard C. Trexler (ed.), *Gender Rhetorics: Postures of Dominance and Submission in History* (New York, 1994), pp. 67–8.

[21] Ibid., p. 69.

[22] Donald Weinstein, 'Fighting or Flyting? Verbal duelling in Mid-Sixteenth Century Italy', in Trevor Dean and Kate J.P. Lowe (eds), *Crime, Society and the Law in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 213–14; see also 'Discours sur les duels', in Pierre de Bourdeille de Brantome, *Oeuvres* (8 vols, Paris, 1787), vol. 8, pp. 49–63.

[23] Weinstein, ' Fighting or Flyting?', p. 214; Francesco Erspamer, *La biblioteca di don Ferrante: duello e onore nella cultura del Cinquecento* (Rome, 1982), pp. 115–20; Frederick Robertson Bryson, The *Sixteenth-Century Italian Duel* (Chicago, 1938), pp. 118–19.

[24] Archivio Segreto Vaticano (henceforward ASV), Fondo Borghese II vol. 93, fols 163–4, 19 January 1610.

duelling activity. At the end of her deposition a Valletta woman confessed that her lover – a Knight of Malta – would beat her if she divulged to the Holy Office his involvement in duels.[25]

It was also hard for confessors to obtain permission to absolve duellists. In 1597 Claudio Acquaviva, the General Superior of the Jesuits, informed the Provincial in Palermo that Father Guglielmo from Malta had written several letters asking for permission to absolve duellists 'that did not cause scandal'. The General added that the rector of the Jesuits' College in Malta had been making similar requests for two years and had promised the rector to discuss the issue with the Holy Father.[26] But the issue of duellists was still recurring in 1667. In May of that year Cardinal Barberini, Secretary of the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Office in Rome, informed the Inquisitor in Malta that henceforth he could absolve duellists.[27]

Duelling was such a major concern that it was often punished directly by the Inquisitor, the papal representative in Malta. In 1587, no less than five knights were accused of duelling by the Malta Inquisition tribunal. But the tribunal tended to be lenient with transgressors, who were usually absolved after receiving a penitentiary sentence.[28] Confusion seems to have emerged from the inability of the Holy See to take a clear stand. Thus Paul V's order to impose harsh penalties on duellists in 1610 was revoked by Urban VIII, who suggested to Inquisitor Visconti that for the Holy Year of 1625 he should do his utmost to pardon those knights accused of duelling.[29]

The few criminal cases involving knights of St John appearing before the Governor's tribunal in Rome likewise indicate that young knights continued to resort to their swords, as a case in 1620 attests.

Michelangelo Caroli, who lived next to the church of San Silvestro, gave an eyewitness account of a quarrel which broke out a stone's throw away from the inn known as *Hostaria del Gambaro* in Rome. Caroli saw some Spanish gentlemen leave the tavern together. Immediately, they started insulting a young Italian man who was walking right in front of them. To make matters worse, one of the Spaniards shouted out that he wished to give the lad (*giovene*) a good beating. The young man turned round and shouted back, 'You fuckin' cuckolds [*becchi fottuti*], is it me you wish to beat?' Then he grabbed one of the Spaniards by the

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[25] AIM, Processi criminali, vol. 28C, case 227, fols 1248–50, 25 September 1608.

[26] Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Sicula, vol. 5, 119v, 15 February 1597. Acquaviva declared his intention to consult the Pope in a letter he sent to the rector in Malta on 1 June 1596; ibid., fol. 116v.

[27] AIM, Corrispondenza, vol. 11, fol. 222.

[28] The knights in question were Fra Simon Clavisana, Fra Honorato Tortona, Fra Fernando Coirus, Fra Julius Cesar Santinello and Fra Ottavio Ceuli. AIM, Processi criminali, vol. 169, case 58, 25 March–4 April 1587; cf. Carmel Cassar, '1564–1696: The Inquisition Index of Knights Hospitallers of the Order of St John', *Melita Historica*, 9/2 (1993): 157–96.

[29] AIM, Corrispondenza, vol.5, fol. 9, 15 March 1625.

throat, tore his large collar in two and threw it on the ground. After that the young Italian man and two of the Spaniards came to blows. At this point a young knight of Malta, distinguished by a cross on his cloak and accompanied by another young gentleman armed with swords, intervened. The irascible knight called out to the two Spaniards that it was most shameful and cowardly to assault a single man. The witness Caroli added that he believed the assaulted man was a valet of the knight and concluded that soon after the knight's intervention the Spaniards dispersed.[30]

Struggles for honour involved individuals and groups alike. The notion of a collectively shared honour was so strong that the glory, or the disgrace, touched all members of the group. This fact inspired proud display, manly swagger and much political jostling over what might seem, to modern sensibilities, very minor issues. The tumultuous and often bloody conflicts of life stemmed from struggles not over tangible issues, but over reputation. The Knights of Malta undoubtedly shared this kind of 'value' that the gentlemanly class treasured.

The concept of honour has traditionally played a central role in the ordering of society. As pointed out by Guido Ruggiero, honour 'placed people in a social hierarchy and prescribed behavioural patterns that kept society together and largely peaceful without recourse to a judicial system'.[31] Thus hierarchy was closely linked to honour. High status both conferred honour and set boundaries to its contests. However since honour pervaded all social levels, everyone struggled to save face and keep their own standing. Kristen Neuschel concludes that personal loyalties in the sixteenth century were complicated and unstable, and alliances rather ephemeral. As a result the system of honour that formed the base of these alliances made each man a power unto himself, so that nobles could claim some amount of political autonomy made 'by virtue of their personal identity'.[32] If a man swore loyalty to a master he was expected to demonstrate a sense of loyalty and gratitude to him.[33] At the same time the master was obliged to acknowledge his client's dignity.[34] For this reason it was inadmissible to filch honour from one's social betters. Thus a gentleman could afford to shrug off an insult by an inferior and would even risk derision. On the other hand he could avenge it by some scornful act that inflicted pain and shame on the inferior without affecting his own honour.

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[30] ASR, TCG, sec. XVII, busta 163 (1620), fol. 1238r–v, 2 June 1620.

[31] Guido Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford, 1985), p. 19.

[32] Kristen Neuschel, *Word of Honour: Interpreting Noble Culture in Sixteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, 1989), pp. 15–17.

[33] 'As governor of the household, the master was entitled to reverence, honour, and obedience in return for duty of care', Pavla Miller, *Transformations of Patriarchy in the West 1500–1900* (Bloomington, 1998), p. 16.

[34] Mervyn James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies on Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 357.

This is exactly how one Knight of St John wanted to deal with his servant, though it all turned foul. In September 1614 a corporal of the *sbirri* (gendarmes) reported that that morning he had seen a gentleman hit another man with a sword in the square of the St John Lateran Basilica. The corporal soon had the gentleman arrested and identified as Fra Giovanni Battista Seva, a Piedmontese Knight of Malta.

In his deposition Seva explained that he had intended to leave Rome for Naples but his servant Bernardino had refused to accompany him. Bernardino also refused to move the luggage to the carrier. Seva argued that instead of obeying him Bernardino had insolently asked for the return of his belongings and asked his master to leave him alone. About to lose patience, Seva insisted that Bernardino take the luggage to the carrier at the Chiesa Nuova and return in haste. But Bernardino still refused and instead demanded his belongings, insisting that he wished to remain behind. When Seva refused, Bernardino tried to take the goods from the knight's own hands, whereupon the knight struck him on the arm. In reaction the servant put his hand on the hilt of his sword, but his master did not give him time to draw his sword and started to punch him. Soon after the two men began to exchange blows in the presence of a crowd of people. Finally the knight managed to grab Bernardino's sword from his hand. Finding himself disarmed, Bernardino tried to escape, but he had hardly moved a few steps when the enraged knight drew his sword and ran him through the back. The knight then resheathed his sword, mounted his horse and left hurriedly to avoid the *sbirri*, though he was then caught outside the gate of San Giovanni.[35]

The knight's physical retaliation may be seen as an attempt to restore the status which had been diminished by verbal abuse. Fist blows were acceptable as a form of conduct for settling disputes between a gentleman and his servant. When Bernardino tried spontaneously to unsheathe his sword the knight Seva felt that his servant was going too far and had to employ aggression to deter a challenge. In short, as a man of honour Seva had to seek revenge by retaliating in an appropriate way and thus retain honour – that 'most precious' and 'perishable' of social attributes.[36] Seva's act of retaliation was essentially what Muir describes as 'a rational response to a provocation, a response authorized by cultural imperatives'.[37] Bernardino was simply an 'inferior' and it would have been demeaning for the knight to duel with a man who was not a gentleman.

In a highly stratified society obsessed with rank and hierarchy, men seem to have borne the burden of continually asserting and justifying their social position. Failure to do so deprived men of their word of honour since they had no credit on which to vouch, and therefore could not be trusted. By implication men of no worth were voiceless. At the same time gentlemen prized their honour. Thus it was shameful for a gentleman to refuse a contest when challenged. Since a man's

35 ASR, TCG, sec. XVII, busta 120, case 39, fols 1790–92, 27 September 1614.

36 Gilmore, *Manhood*, pp. 30–55.

37 Muir, 'Manly Revenge', p. 68.

honour resided in the integrity of his reputation, all sorts of slights or assaults could be read as challenges to honour. The interpretation of such moments was highly elastic. If witnesses agreed that there had been an affront, a man had to counterattack or lose standing.[38] This emerges clearly from a case in which the knight Fra Fulvio Alberini fell victim to his own irresponsible behaviour.

At carnival time in 1583 a barber surgeon went to visit a man of about 25 years of age who was badly wounded and lying in bed. When asked how he came to be wounded, he identified himself as Fra Fulvio Alberini, a Knight of Malta hailing from the city of Rome.[39] From the inquiry it transpired that Alberini had shot, or was thought to have shot, Ascanio Ruggieri, a gentleman living in the palace of Cardinal d'Este. Investigations led to the arrest of several witnesses, among them Claude Mongez, a French servant. Mongez admitted to having seen three masked men on horseback, one of whom was dressed in white. After reaching the palace of Cardinal d'Este, where the gentleman Ascanio Ruggieri lived, the masked man in white took out a harquebus (a sort of a hand gun) and shot Ruggieri. There were shouts of 'Kill! Kill the assassins!' and Ruggieri drew his sword and apparently struck the masked man. The masked horseman then fled the scene. Mongez could not add much else as he returned to his work.[40] Another dependent of Ruggieri, Andrea Novara, declared that he had heard the two shots and soon after learnt that the Knight of Malta, Fra Fulvio Alberini, had been wounded in the head and was trying to seek refuge in a courtyard leading to the kitchen. Later, Novara overheard several gentlemen, among them his master Ascanio Ruggieri, say that Alberini had shot and wounded Ruggieri and that the latter, to defend his honour, had beaten the knight. Once Ruggieri wounded his adversary, his honour had been avenged, and so he ceased his assault.[41] As both Ruggieri and Fra Alberini were gentlemen, Mongez, Novara and other servants refrained from intervening in the brawl. It was another gentleman dependent of Cardinal d'Este, Ferrante Franchi of Ferrara, who went to the knight's aid. Franchi, a writer, had heard the two shots, noticed the young wounded knight and heard Ascanio Ruggieri boast that he had struck the knight. However the knight told Franchi that the harquebus had been fired outside the cardinal's palace by one of his masked friends, called Marcello [Giustini].[42] Despite having allegedly wounded the wrong man, Ruggieri declared that justice must take its course. Franchi had found the wounded knight Alberini on the floor in a small kitchen beneath the cook's table, and lifted him up. Franchi declared that the young man was bleeding profusely. He also noticed that there was a small

[38] Ibid., p. 81; Weinstein, 'Fighting or Flyting?', p. 212; James R. Farr, *Hands of Honour: Artisans and their World in Dijon, 1550–1650* (Ithaca, 1988), p. 180.

[39] ASR, TCG, sec. XVI, busta 177 (1582), fol. 3.

[40] Ibid., fol. 4r–v.

[41] Ibid., fol. 5v.

[42] Marcello Giustini, himself a Knight of Malta, was later found guilty and executed for murder. The case is briefly mentioned by Thomas V. Cohen, *Love and Death in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 2004), p. 119.

harquebus under the table. Other members of the cardinal's retinue believed that Alberini himself had fired the harquebus at Signor Ascanio Ruggieri.[43]

According to the patriarchal model of manhood, dependent males like Mongez and Novara were not 'full' men as they were 'considered to be dependents of the head of the household and hence part of the family'.[44] They were simply labourers toiling for a wage, of little or no worth and held in low esteem. Ferrante Franchi enjoyed higher status and felt duty-bound to intervene and help the wounded knight. Yet Franchi, who hailed from Ferrara and was seemingly an educated and refined man, was himself a dependant of Cardinal d'Este, a member of the once all-powerful d'Este family. The case-study clearly demonstrates tensions between normative ideas of manhood and other sets of social relations. Appropriate behaviour for men and women was context specific and linked to status. The head of a household was expected to be prudent but generous, forceful but loving. He had to be honest and obedient to those in authority.

This attitude is evinced in the approach taken in another incident by the nobleman Giacomo Benzoni. One Friday evening, in a carriage in front of the Gesù church, the Knight of Malta Fra Antonio Contreras and his friend Captain Cesare Vanucci met two knights of the Tuscan Order of Saint Stephen, called Paravicino and Nari.[45] Paravicino had allegedly fabricated lies against Contreras, who then challenged him to a duel.[46] Many gentlemen intervened to stop them.[47] Some 40 swordsmen, including many in the retinue of Paravicino, became involved in a general melee which ended only when a *sbirro* arrived, brandished his sword and shouted twice 'Stop in the name of the law!' ('*ferma alla corte!*'), at which the crowd dispersed.[48]

That same evening the knight Contreras and his friend Vanucci were recognized by some members of the retinue of the knight Paravicino. Outnumbered, Contreras and his friend fled and sought refuge in the house of the Roman nobleman Giacomo

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[43] ASR, TCG, sec. XVI, busta 177 (1582), fols 5v–6v.

[44] Linda A. Pollock, 'Parent–Child Relations', in David I. Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli (eds), *Family Life in Early Modern Times 1500–1789* (New Haven, 2001), p. 209; Miller, *Transformations*, p. 16; Farr, *Hands of Honour*, p. 23.

[45] The knight Antonio Contreras may easily be the intrepid corsair and mercenary captain Alonso de Contreras. In his autobiography de Contreras states that soon after joining the ranks of the Order of Malta in 1611–1612 he applied for the post of captain in the service of King Philip III of Spain (1598–1621) and continued to serve the Spanish Crown for the rest of his life throughout the Mediterranean and the West Indies. There is reference to frequent visits to Italy, including Rome. He was even admitted to a private audience with Pope Urban VIII over a commandery of the Order in 1629. But there is no clear evidence that he was in Rome in 1620. Cf. Philip Dallas (ed.), *The Adventures of Captain Alonso De Contreras: A Seventeenth-Century Journey* (New York, 1989).

[46] ASR, TCG, sec. XVII, busta 163 (1620), case 24, fol. 932v.

[47] Ibid., fol. 931.

[48] Ibid., fol. 933.

Benzoni, who was entertaining some friends. Contreras and Vanucci entered the Benzoni house uninvited, and since they did not usually frequent it they were asked for an explanation. The fugitives explained that they were being chased by a group of five or six men, had no intention to become embroiled in the law courts and asked to leave through the back door. They were allowed to seek refuge while Giacomo Benzoni and Altieri went out to speak to Paravicino, who recalled his men. Contreras and Vanucci could thus leave the house unharmed.[49]

Attempts by participants and others to limit violence were common. And even when this failed there is often evidence that bystanders sought to stop the quarrel. In the Contreras/Vannucci episode, barging into the Benzoni house could have been interpreted as an affront to Giacomo Benzoni. But in this instance the two intruders pleaded for protection, which was granted. At that point Contreras and Vannucci came under the protection of the head of the Benzoni household and the Paravicino retinue had no option but to wait for another chance.[50]

The clash between the Knight of Malta Contreras and his enemy, the rich knight Paravicino, shows that being a man in this milieu involved negotiating several different forms of behaviour. There was a code which emphasized the proper behaviour for elite men. A sense of responsibility was important in manliness and independence, self-sufficiency and neighbourliness were all sources of honour. This emerges clearly in the attitude taken by Benzoni. The code associated the possession of property with autonomy. In short manhood was a cultural construct which defined a code of behaviour meant to demonstrate that gentlemen were superior to other men.[51]

In essence violence served two main functions in group combat. It was a form of territorial demarcation, often expressed through competitive tests of strength, and it served to regulate behaviour and even facilitate comradeship as a means of shared activity and friendship in the sense of reciprocal disclosure and mutual trust.[52]

When on 21 June 1616 the dead body of a young man was found in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, two barber-surgeons declared that the wounds had been caused by a sword and a dagger. The victim in question, a French gentleman from Normandy named Adrien Thomas, Seigneur de Fontaine, was presumed to have been murdered by his close friend Fra Giovanni Battista Alli, a Knight

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[49] Ibid., fols 939v–943, 12 May 1620.

[50] Ibid., fol. 953v, 20 May, 1620.

[51] J.K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage* (Oxford, 1964), p. 280; Michael Herzfeld, *The Poetics of Manhood: Contest and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village* (Princeton, 1985); Gilmore, *Manhood*, esp. pp. 30–38.

[52] Robert A. Strikwerda and Larry May, 'Male Friendship and Intimacy', in May, Strikwerda and Patrick D. Hopkins (eds), *Rethinking Masculinity: Philosophical Explorations in the Light of Feminism* (Lanham, 1992), pp. 79–94.

of Malta hailing from Rome. Thomas was known to be a skilled swordsman.[53] One witness, Bartholomeo Milanese, explained that he saw two gentlemen accompanied by an attendant armed with swords walking in the direction of the Porta del Popolo. Some time later, one of the gentlemen returned, with blood streaming from his throat, and accompanied by the servant carrying his sword. The two men were then seen entering the church but the attendant came out of the church unarmed. Soon after, Milanese learnt that the wounded gentleman had died in the church.[54] The dagger used in the murder was found later that morning outside Porta del Popolo.[55]

When interrogated, Thomas's French servant, Nicole, explained that he had gone to look for his master and learnt of his death. He informed Thomas's cousin Jean Lettavagli (Le Tavant?), Seigneur d'Angravisia (d'Angerville?), residing in Rome. Lettavagli and Nicole, along with the French knife merchant Jerome Pitre, went to denounce the case at the Office of the Governor's tribunal.[56]

Nicole said that in Rome his master was sharing his lodging with the Knight of Malta Fra Alli 'of the white cross' and his young servant Benedetto. Alli and Thomas, carrying swords, had gone out together the previous evening and neither had returned home. However, at dawn the knight returned home alone, went directly to his room, talked to his servant in a very low voice and later left the house armed. Nicole felt reluctant to accuse Fra Alli of murdering his master. Instead, he declared that he could only suspect Alli of murder.[57]

It is evident that the knight Alli and the French gentleman Thomas were firm friends who even shared lodgings. Yet in the end the knight was still accused of murder. In acts of violence comradeship was often mere ostentation meant to signify men's strength and physical prowess. Fraternal bonds like those between Alli and Thomas provided a means by which manliness could be publicly displayed, although this can be seen best in cases of collective violence taking place in nocturnal escapades.[58] Violent bravado was designed to impress both the other members of the group and their adversaries. The majority of those involved in nocturnal brawls – be they Knights of Malta, their friends or adversaries – were young men occupying subordinate social positions through their relatively young age or inferior economic status.

As a concept, honour is found in every society, and it has often been understood as the idea of a person's worth within their own community. However, the term may have different values for different sets of people in different societies. Thus

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[53] Several witnesses confirmed that he trained at the fencing school of one Mastro Cencio. ASR, TCG, sec. XVII, busta 132, case 2, fols 99–100, 21 June 1616.

[54] Ibid., fols 100v–101.

[55] Ibid., fol. 101v.

[56] Ibid., fol. 102r–v, 21 June 1616.

[57] Ibid., fols 103–4v.

[58] Almo Paita, *La vita quotidiana a Roma ai tempi di Gian Lorenzo Bernini* (Milan, 1998), pp. 291–3.

honour varies from one region to another, from one community to another and, above all, it carries different connotations from one class of society to another. It is more than just a means of expressing approval or disapproval of a particular mode of behaviour, and it often validates itself by an appeal to the facts. This condition may help to explain why the official estimation of a person's worth may often appear ambivalent to the rest of society.[59] When it is acknowledged by the people at large, however, the concept of honour presents no problem. This might emerge in times of calamity and war. In Malta the Ottoman Siege of 1565 may be considered as one such episode.

A diary of this siege, compiled by the Spanish soldier Francisco Balbi di Correggio, provides eloquent proof of how early modern honour was intricately linked to a good reputation. One of the most impressive episodes described by Correggio is the account by Juan de La Cerda of the impossible situation faced by the garrison at Fort St Elmo, at the tip of the harbour of Malta. La Cerda explained that apart from the exhaustion of the defenders, the fortress was doomed to fall in a short time. Grand Master La Valette's response is revealing. Thanking La Cerda for his information and advice, the Grand Master promised that he would send timely aid. La Valette further promised that at a time when it appeared that the garrison of St Elmo could no longer hold out he would go in person, with other soldiers, to defend it. By his bold assertion the Grand Master had appealed to the highest ideal of honour, based on the highest moral virtue of honourable men in the sixteenth century. La Cerda realized that he had no option but to return to his post at St Elmo and fight to the end.[60] The episode shows clearly that a man of honour was not only expected to defend his honour when challenged, but was also expected to live up to his obligations and ideals, whatever the danger or cost.

One might argue that among the Knights of St John 'honour' had come to represent a wide range of social, sexual, economic and political values. The case studies discussed above suggest that competition at all levels between Knights of St John and other men was often resolved violently. Such violence was not simply an untamed overspill of latent aggression, but contained precise meanings and was governed by elaborate rules of play. Violence was a vital instrument in maintaining honour. In disputes over status it often went hand in hand with the denigration of the opponent, and possibly led to his death. But one also comes across references to rather stoic self-control, even in the face of utter humiliation or, at other times, in the face of death. Perhaps the attitude of Grand Master Jean Levêque de La Cassière may be cited as an example. In 1581 a series of riots by members of the Order followed the publication of a ban on the presence of prostitutes in Valletta by La Cassière. At a special meeting of the Council, from which he opted unwisely to absent himself, the Grand Master was deposed and replaced by the Prior of

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[59] Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 488–507.

[60] Francesco Balbi di Correggio, *The Siege of Malta 1565*, trans. H.A. Balbi (Copenhagen, 1961), p. 58.

Toulouse, Fra Marthurino de Lescaut Romegas, on the grounds of incompetence and senility. Although humiliated and placed under arrest at Fort St Angelo, La Cassière prudently refused offers of assistance by various dignitaries of the Order so as to avoid bloodshed. It was evidently a self-conscious choice by a man of great dignity. The Grand Master was so sure of his conduct that he felt no need to defend his honour. La Cassière was soon proved right and his honour was restored by the Pope's intervention.[61]

On most occasions the ruling Grand Master of the Order in Malta and the papacy in Rome joined ranks in exercising political authority in an attempt to enforce moral discipline and security. Both authorities claimed the right to bestow honours and it was accepted that those whom society honours are honourable. Such an argument suggests that honour is not purely an individual attribute and is often related to social solidarities. It is common for social groups to possess a collective honour in which their members share. This state of affairs is endemic among Mediterranean communities and implies that the dishonourable conduct of one member of the group reflects upon the honour of all, while a member shares in the honour of the group.[62] Thus honour pertains to social groups whose honour is bound up with their fidelity to the head of the community, whether this consists of a nuclear family or the head of a nation whose collective honour is vested in his person. Finally it serves to establish the consensus of the society with regard to the order of precedence. Society demonstrates what is acceptable by reference to what is accepted.

A man is answerable for his honour only to his social equals, that is to say, to those with whom he can conceptually compete. A man who would tolerate no stain on his name and demonstrated a readiness to defend his honour with his sword was considered to be a gentleman. By upholding the chivalric ethos, a gentleman was entitled to esteem and self-respect. To fail in upholding one's honour was disgraceful and shameful.

In Rome, as elsewhere, the knight-monk members of the Order of St John were constrained to appear manly in daily social interactions and relationships with other

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[61] As head of a religious order, La Cassière appealed to Rome. Representations on behalf of both sides were made to the Holy See, leading to some nasty incidents in St Peter's square between rival delegations. By late September 1581, both the deposed Grand Master and Romegas had gone to plead their case in Rome. But while La Cassière was met with full honours and great pomp, Romegas was forced to beg pardon from the Grand Master, a humiliation that proved too much for the gallant Romegas, who died the following November. Soon after, the Pope reprimanded the rebellious knights, but La Cassière too passed away on 21 December 1581. Dal Pozzo, *Historia*, vol. 1, pp. 181–204.

[62] See, for example, Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Sentiment of Honour in Kabyle Society', in John G. Peristiany (ed.), *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society* (London, 1965), pp. 191–241; Anton Blok, 'Rams and Billy-Goats: A Key to the Mediterranean Code of Honour', *Man: Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 16 (1981): 427–40; Campbell, *Honour*.

men and women. This ideal of virility was in essence a social construct that had to be acquired before it could be enforced on others. It was claimed through rituals of excess and disruptive displays of strength in defence of honour. The stakes in affairs of honour were high. Although violence was frequently condemned by the authorities, it nonetheless underpinned their own superior claims to dominance. Ultimately, therefore, violence was at least implicitly condoned as a necessary aspect of manhood, although there were legal differences in its appropriate uses. But the role of the knights was ambivalent. While being nobles and warriors they were also monks. As Catholic monks they were tied by the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience – vows they broke continually. As a result there existed widespread inconsistencies and contradictions in the way their violent behaviour was assessed.

Chapter 4
The Reception of Spain and its Values in Habsburg Naples: A Reassessment

Gabriel Guarino

This study offers a response to some of Benedetto Croce's work on the effects of the Spanish presence in early modern Naples.[1] According to one of his main arguments, by the middle of the sixteenth century contemporaries had come to perceive the national character of Spaniards and Neapolitans as identical.[2] The wider context of this perception was the simplified and stereotyped image of Iberians, which started to crystallize following the meteoric ascendancy of Spain to the status of the world superpower during Charles V's times (1519–1556), and the exposure of Spaniards to a great variety of peoples and cultures across the globe. Thousands of denigrating pages describing the Spanish character fuelled Hispanophobic sentiments among Spain's enemies, but what matters for us is the association of Neapolitans with this negative image.[3] The point is reflected well in the words of a Spanish ambassador to Rome, who labelled Neapolitan nobles 'arrogant, and with a reverential and ceremonious behaviour; they appear Spaniards'.[4] Croce's investigations into the Neapolitan character have been followed up by many other scholars, and his suggestion of a Neapolitan character moulded on Spanish honorific values has been both defended and dismissed.[5]

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[1] See especially his collection of essays, *La Spagna nella vita italiana durante la Rinascenza* (Bari, 1917). Also of relevance, 'Cultura spagnuola in Italia del Seicento', in his *Uomini e cose della vecchia Italia* (Bari, 1927), pp. 213–21, and, in the same volume, 'Scene della vita dei soldati spagnuoli a Napoli', pp. 109–32.

[2] Benedetto Croce, 'Il tipo del Napoletano nella commedia', in his *Saggi sulla letteratura Italiana del Seicento* (Bari, 1911), p. 280 ff.

[3] For a thorough review of Spain's 'Black Legend', see Ricardo García Cárcel, *La leyenda negra: historia y opinión* (Madrid, 1993). See also Jocelyn Nigel Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor, 2000), which contains an excellent bibliography on European public opinion on Spain during the early modern era. For the Spanish influence in Italy, see especially Croce, 'Le cerimonie spagnuole in Italia', in his *La Spagna nella vita italiana*, pp. 172–96.

[4] Quoted in Croce, 'Napoletano nella commedia', p. 280.

[5] For example, Jennifer Selwyn's *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils: The Jesuits' Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples* (Aldershot, 2004) evokes an established, almost ineradicable stereotype of Neopolitan citizens to this day. Of particular relevance are Atanasio Mozzillo, *Passaggio a mezzogiorno: Napoli e il Sud nell'immaginario barocco*

Italian scholars exploring the Spanish presence have generally preferred to focus on the political, social and economic aspects of the relationship at the expense of the cultural. Ignoring Spain's cultural role in the development of the South is partly a throwback from the time of the Italian nationalistic historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who blamed the 200 years of Spanish 'bad government' for the 'decline' of Italy during the seventeenth century.[6] In part, this neglect also reflects the Italian academic structure. As noted in Eric Cochrane's survey of the historiography of the early modern south of the 1970s and 1980s, most publications reflect the division of historical studies between the university faculties of political science, law and economics, which has left little room for cultural interpretations.[7] Eventually a renewed interest in Spanish Italy, fostered by the revival of court studies in the last three decades, has finally caught up with the historiography of southern Italy. Giuseppe Galasso, Giovanni Muto, Aurelio Musi, Maria Antonietta Visceglia and Angelantonio Spagnoletti have had a significant role in leading the way. Their main contribution is their success in situating Naples within the Spanish Imperial system of states and linking its development to the wider historical trends of the early modern period.[8] Their work has fortunately coincided with that of Spanish historians such as Carlos José Hernando Sánchez, José Martínez Millán and Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño, to mention only the more prominent, whose interest in the Spanish monarchy led them to focus on specific Italian case studies.[9]

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e illuminista europeo (Milan, 1993), and Giusepe Galasso, 'Lo stereotipo del napoletano', in his *L'altra Europa: per un'antropologia storica del Mezzogiorno d'Italia* (Milan, 1982), pp. 143–90.

[6] The vast amount of literature on this subject is well covered in a collection of essays edited by Aurelio Musi, *Alle origini di una nazione. Antispagnolismo e identità italiana* (Milan, 2003).

[7] Eric Cochrane, 'Southern Italy in the Age of the Spanish Viceroys: Some Recent Titles', *Journal of Modern History*, 58 (1986): 198–9.

[8] I will refer to their specific works in other parts of this chapter. For now, I will simply mention some of their evaluations of the historiography of the Italian south which appear in the volume edited by Aurelio Musi, significantly titled *Dimenticare Croce? Studi e orientamenti di storia del mezzogiorno* (Naples, 1991).

[9] Since the 1980s Italian and Spanish scholars have participated in numerous conferences on the subject, and collaborated on various volumes published to commemorate the fifth centenary of Charles V's birth and Philip II's death. The following is a short sample of this extensive bibliography: Gianvittorio Signorotto (ed.), *L'Italia degli Austrias: Monarchia cattolica e domini italiani nei secoli XVI e XVII*, *Cheiron*, 17–18 (special issue, 1992); Aurelio Musi (ed.), *Nel sistema imperiale: L'Italia spagnola* (Naples, 1994); Luis Antonio Ribot García and Ernest Belenguer Cebrià (eds), *Las sociedades ibéricas y el mar a fin del siglo XVI* (4 vols, Pabellón de España, 1998); Ernest Belenguer Cebrià (ed.), *Felipe II y el Mediterráneo* (4 vols, Barcelona, 1999). For a recent compilation on the subject, with a larger representation of international scholars, see Thomas James Dandelet and John A. Marino (eds), *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Religion 1500–1700* (Leiden, 2006).

This renewed interest in the role of Spain has been pursued by highlighting the major conflicts (mainly the revolts of 1547, 1585 and 1647–1648) and inherent tensions of the relationship between Spaniards and Neapolitans, questioning the extent of Neapolitans' proverbial sense of loyalty to their Spanish rulers.[10] The aim of this investigation is to assess the connection between this loyalty to Spain and the supposed acceptance of Spanish culture and values by Neapolitans. In order to do so, rather than examining Neapolitans as a unified group sharing a monolithic cultural worldview, one needs to consider, alongside the national/civic element, other significant components of Neapolitans' identity: social status, the family and religion.[11]

Starting with the issue of national or civic identity – which were one and the same in the case of Naples owing to its unrivalled status as the capital city and the fact that as such it was perceived as representative of the entire kingdom[12] – one should bear in mind that national identity in early modern times lacked the current model of a nation state with a more or less homogenous and corresponding territory, people, national language and central government. Therefore, the binding element was the royal dynasty, and it was to this that loyalty and patriotic feelings

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[10] Some aspects of the debate will be discussed later, but here are the key texts that revolve around it: Rosario Villari, *Per il re o per la patria*. *La fedeltà nel Seicento* (Rome and Bari, 1994); Aurelio Musi, 'La fedeltà al re nella prima età moderna', in his *L'Italia dei Viceré*. *Integrazione e resistenza nel sistema imperiale spagnolo* (Cava de' Tirreni, 2000), pp. 149–64; Giovanni Muto, 'Fedeltà e patria nel lessico politico napoletano della prima età moderna', in Alberto Merola, Giovanni Muto, Elena Valeri and Maria Anonietta Visceglia (eds), *Storia Sociale e politica. Omaggio a Rosario Villari* (Milan, 2006), pp. 495–522, and Giovanni Muto, 'Fidelildad, política y conflictos urbanos en el Reino de Nápoles (siglos XVI–XVII)', in Jose I. Portea and Juan E. Gelabert (eds), *Ciudades en conflicto (siglos XVI–XVII*) (Castilla y León, 2008), pp. 370–95; and Giuseppe Galasso, 'Da "Napoli gentile" a "Napoli fedelissima"', in his *Napoli capitale. Identità politica e identità cittadina. Studi e ricerche 1266–1860* (Naples, 2003), pp. 61–110.

[11] This follows Peter Burke's suggestion that 'in late medieval and early modern Europe the rivals to national identity were even more important; regional identities, ethnic identities, civic identities, and religious identities, to say nothing of gender, of family or of clerical or of noble identities'. 'Language and Identity in Early Modern Italy', in his *The Art of Conversation* (Cambridge and Oxford, 1993), pp. 66–7.

[12] Other capital cities in Spanish Italy, in comparison, did not enjoy quite the same status as Naples, as exemplified by Messina's challenge of Palermo in Sicily. See on this topic the illuminating comparative review by Piero Ventura, 'Privilegi, identità urbana e politica: le capitali dell'Italia Spagnola durante il regno di Filippo II', in José Martínez Millán (ed.), *Felipe II (1527–1598): Europa y la monarquia católica* (4 vols, Madrid, 1998), vol. 2, pp. 739–71. On Naples's status in the kingdom, see Piero Ventura, 'Le ambiguità di un privilegio: la cittadinanza napoletana tra Cinque e Seicento', *Quaderni Storici*, 30/2 (1995): 385–416 and Galasso, 'Napoli gentile', pp. 101–2.

were extended.[13] This is true also for Spaniards who, despite the union of the crowns of Castile and Aragon, did not see themselves as part of the same nation. In the course of the sixteenth century, however, with the widening of the Habsburg's international reach, Castilians, Galicians, Catalans and Cantabrians, Andalusians and Basques started to feel a shared sense of community, one that united them in their imperial endeavours.[14] Similarly, it took some time before the Neapolitans could relate themselves to what John Elliott has labelled the Spanish composite system of states.[15] With the passage of the Kingdom of Naples from Aragonese to Spanish rule, local elites expressed their resentment at the forced departure of the Aragonese royal court which, despite its Iberian origins, had chosen Naples as its capital, turning it into a centre of economic, political and cultural patronage. Accordingly, during the visit of Ferdinand the Catholic to Naples in 1507, one of the petitions made on behalf of the nobility reminded him that since time immemorial 'this kingdom has been commonly governed by the Kings, Predecessors of Your Majesty, in person', while now 'it may happen that, either to visit other kingdoms of yours, or to attend to other necessary business, you will absent yourself from this Kingdom; nonetheless we trust that Your Majesty will deign to take up permanent residence in this Kingdom'.[16] When Ferdinand clarified his intention to keep the viceregal institution intact, the local nobility still deluded itself that before his death he would restore the crown of Naples to one of his Aragonese heirs. The unpopularity of Spain in the first years of its dominion in Naples reached a peak in 1528 when many of the Neapolitan aristocrats joined forces with France to overthrow the Spaniards. Only after the middle of the sixteenth century with the signing of the Franco-Spanish peace agreement in Cateau-Cambrésis, which established Spanish hegemony in the Italian peninsula, did Neapolitans learn to accept Spanish rule and even begin to find pride in their affiliation to the Habsburg dynasty.[17]

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[13] For a general outlook, see John Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance* (London, 1993), pp. 59–68. For Italy, see Eric Cochrane, *Italy, 1530–1630*, ed. Julius Kirshner (London and New York, 1988), p. 167 ff.; Domenico Sella, *Italy in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1987), pp. 1–3; Peter Burke, 'The Uses of Italy', in Mikuláš Teich and Roy Porter (eds), *The Renaissance in National Context* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 16 ff.

[14] See Luis González Antón, *España y las Españas* (Madrid, 1998), pp. 253–97, and Helmut G. Koenigsberger, 'National Consciousness in Early Modern Spain', in his *Politicians and Virtuosi: Essays in Early Modern History* (London and Ronceverte, 1986), p. 124 ff.

[15] John Elliott, 'A Europe of Composite Monarchies', *Past and Present*, 137 (1992): 48–71, p. 55. For the origin of the use of viceroys in Spain see Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469–1716* (London, 1963), pp. 18–19.

[16] Quoted in Giovanni Muto, 'A Court without a King: Naples as Capital City in the First Half of the 16th Century', in W.P. Blockmans and M.E.H.N. Mout (eds), *The World of Emperor Charles V* (Amsterdam, 2004), pp. 133–4.

[17] See ibid., pp. 129–41; Guido D'Agostino, 'Il governo spagnolo nell'Italia meridionale (1503–1580)', in Ernesto Pontieri (ed.), *Storia di Napoli*, vol. 5.1: *Il viceregno* (Naples,

The tightening of the bond was made possible by Naples's form of aggregation to Spain, known as *aeque principaliter* – namely as a distinct entity, preserving its own laws, *fueros* and privileges.[18] Such a union allowed the continuation of local self-government at a time when monarchs were unable to bring their possessions under tight royal control, and at the same time it assured local elites of their existing privileges together with the potential benefits derived from association with the Spanish monarchy. As amply documented by Angelantonio Spagnoletti, the echelons of Neapolitan nobility were rewarded with feuds (lands held in return for service), titles, pensions, prestigious chivalric orders like the Golden Fleece, and Spanish *Grandesas* for their sworn allegiance to Madrid.[19] To be sure, not everyone approved of the Spanish co-option of the local nobility. For example, as a bitter opponent of Spain would comment towards the end of the sixteenth century: 'Who doesn't know of the deeds of these Spanish Catholic foxes? … Witness how they bestow titles and precious offices on certain nobles in order to trap them with these appearances into servitude and to ruin them with expenses.'[20] In fact, the Spanish lure was hard to resist. In Koenigsberger's words: 'The Gonzaga, the Pescara, the Del Vasto preferred the role of an imperial viceroy or captain general to that of a provincial *condottiere*.'[21] The accommodating conditions of the system for the local elites might also explain the Habsburgs' success in extracting the kingdom's riches.[22] In this sense, the importance of the Kingdom of Naples within the system of Habsburg states is underlined by Giuseppe Galasso's assessment that it came immediately after Castile in the hierarchy of states on which the Spanish monarchy could rely in the form of resources for military defence and taxation.[23] Clearly, such a position, just as in Castile's case, would have a detrimental effect in the long run because of the disproportionate toll required from its subjects. At the same time, an unambiguous display of appreciation of the kingdom's first-rank

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1970), pp. 3–132; Carlos José Hernando Sánchez, 'Nobiltà e potere vicereale a Napoli nella prima metà del '500', in Aurelio Musi (ed.), *Nel sistema imperiale*, pp. 147–63; Giuseppe Galasso, 'La Spagna imperiale e il Mezzogiorno', in his *Alla periferia dell'impero: il Regno di Napoli nel periodo spagnolo (secoli xvi–xvii)* (Turin, 1994), pp. 5–44; and Aurelio Musi, 'Il Regno di Napoli e il sistema imperiale spagnolo', in his *L'Italia dei Viceré*, pp. 23–35.

[18] Elliott, 'Composite Monarchies', pp. 52–3.

[19] See Angelantonio Spagnoletti, *Principi italiani e Spagna nell'età barocca* (Milan, 1996). Of general relevance, Helmut Koenigsberger, *The Habsburgs and Europe, 1516–1660* (Ithaca and London, 1971).

[20] Anon., 'Discorso breve e utile scritto da un gentiluomo italiano e cattolico all'Italia, al beneficio, salute e conservazione di tutti gli Stati di quella', in Luigi Firpo (ed.), *Ragguagli di Parnaso* (3 vols, Bari, 1948), vol. 3, p. 297.

[21] Koenigsberger, *Habsburgs and Europe*, p. 26.

[22] Elliott, 'Composite Monarchies', p. 69.

[23] Galasso, 'La Spagna imperiale', p. 23. For the integration of Neapolitans in the Spanish army, see Spagnoletti, *Principi italiani*, pp. 179–228; and Gino Doria, 'I soldati napoletani nelle guerre del Brasile contro gli olandesi (1625–1641)', *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, 57 (1932): 224–50.

importance within the Habsburg European dominions contributed to strengthening the Neapolitans' feelings of self-worth.

A testimony to this is the way Neapolitans of all social denominations celebrated politically meaningful life-cycle events of the Habsburgs, such as the birth of royal persons, accessions to the throne, royal marriages and so on.[24] The nobility, as was customary to its rank, showcased on these occasions their most sumptuous clothes, jewels, carriages and horses. Confirmation is provided by a local chronicler, criticizing the spendthrift Neapolitan nobility on one of these occasions: 'these gentlemen, being vainglorious and lured by appearances in their nature, even though being poor, they will not fail, as their usual practice, to jeopardize and indebt themselves in order to appear elegant in such functions'.[25] A similar disposition was shown by the Neapolitan commoners, the *popolo*, in the investments made for the celebrations of St John the Baptist in order to show their allegiance to the Spanish Crown via the glorification of the viceroy. Accordingly, as a collective sponsoring body, the *popolo* spared no expense on the sumptuous *apparati* – triumphal arches, statues, various adornments, poetic compositions and firework displays. All these were detailed in the festival books produced by the *popolo* to commemorate the event.[26] Significantly, this kind of enthusiasm was

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[24] For some general works on civic Neapolitan festivals, see Franco Mancini, *Feste ed apparati civili e religiosi in Napoli dal viceregno alla capitale* (Naples, 1968); Michele Rak, 'A dismisura d'uomo: Feste e spettacolo del barocco napoletano', in Marcello Fagiolo (ed.), *Gian Lorenzo Bernini e le arti visive* (Rome, 1987), pp. 259–312; Rak, 'Il sistema delle feste nella Napoli barocca' in Gaetana Cantone (ed.), *Centri e periferie del Barocco*, vol. 2: *Barocco napoletano* (Rome, 1992), pp. 301–27; and Gabriel Guarino, 'Spanish Celebrations in Seventeenth-Century Naples', *The Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 37/1 (2006): 25–41.

[25] Domenico Confuorto, *Giornali di Napoli dal MDCLXXIX al MDCIC* (2 vols, Naples, 1930), vol. 1, p. 270.

[26] Many festival books remain from this festival. Among various authored by Giulio Cesare Capaccio, see especially *Apparato della festività del glorioso S. Giovan Battista fatto dal Fedelissimo Popolo Napolitano nella venuta dell'Eccellenza del Signor D. Antonio Alvarez di Toledo, Viceré del Regno* (Naples, 1623); *Apparato della festività del glorioso S. Giovan Battista fatto dal Fedelissimo Popolo Napolitano à 24 di Giugno 1624, all'Eccellenza del Signor D. Antonio Alvarez di Toledo Duca d'Alba, Viceré del Regno* (Naples, 1624); *Apparato della festività del glorioso S. Gio. Battista fatto dal Fedelissimo Popolo Napolitano à XXIII di Giugno MDCXXVI, all'Eccellenza del Signor D. Antonio Alvarez di Toledo Duca d'Alba, Viceré del Regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1626); and *Apparato della festività del glorioso S. Gio. Battista fatto dal Fedelissimo Popolo Napolitano à XXIII di Giugno MDCXXVII, all'Eccellenza del Signor D. Antonio Alvarez di Toledo, Duca d'Alva, Viceré nel Regno* (Naples, 1627). See also Francesco Orilla, *Il zodiaco over idea di perfetione di Prencipi, Formata Dall' Heroiche Virtù dell' illustriss … D. Antonio Alvaros di Toledo Duca D'Alba Viceré di Napoli dal fidelissimo Popolo Napoletano … Nella Pomposissima Festa di San Gio. Battista, celebrato a 23 di Giugno 1629, per il settimo anno del suo Governo* (Naples, 1630); Gio. Bernardino Giuliani, *Descrittione dell'Apparato di San Giovanni fatto dal fedelissimo popolo Napolitano. All'Illustrissimo, & Eccelentisimo Duca d'Alba l'anno M.DC.XXVIII* (Naples, 1628); Giuliani, *Descrittione dell'Apparato*

also manifested when the viceregal court chose to stage, on festive occasions, such typically Spanish tournaments as bullfights and reed-spear tournaments – a fact that Italian scholars have either denied or neglected.[27] The evidence shows that the greatest Neapolitan noble families – such as the Carafa, Caracciolo, Pignatelli, Di Sangro and Tomacello, to mention only a few – filled the ranks of combatants on such occasions.[28] Moreover, appreciation of these public festivals was so great among the lower social groups of Naples that when, around the middle of the seventeenth century, the viceroys tried to follow other European courts by diverting most of the events from the public sphere to exclusive aristocratic domains, they had to retreat in the face of vigorous public objections.[29]

The positive shift in attitude towards Spanish rule can be best exemplified in an apocryphal anecdote told by the contemporary Giulio Cesare Capaccio about a chance meeting between an old woman and Emperor Charles V during

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fatto nella Festa di S. Giovanni dal fedelissimo Popolo Napolitano all'Illustrissimo et Eccelentissimo Sig. D. Emanuel de Zunica et Fonseca, Conte di Monterrey, Vicere di Napoli l'anno M.DC.XXXI (Naples, 1631); *Pedro Martinez de Herrera, Principe advertido y declaracion de las Epigramas De Napoles la Vispera de S. Juan* (Naples, 1631).

[27] See, for example, Mancini, *Feste*, p. 17, Renata D'Elia, *Vita popolare nella Napoli spagnuola* (Naples, 1971), p. 98; Rak, 'Sistema delle feste', pp. 304–5; and, most recently, Dinko Fabris, 'Musical Festivals at a Capital without a Court: Spanish Naples from Charles V (1535) to Philip V (1702)', in J.R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (eds), *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance* (Aldershot and Burlington VT, 2002), p. 280.

[28] See their entrances into the arena in Domenico Antonio Parrino, *Ossequio Tributario della Fedelissima Città di Napoli per le Dimostranze Giulive nei Regii Sponsali del Cattolico, e Invittissimo Monarca Carlo Secondo colla Serenissima Principessa Maria Anna di Neoburgo, Palatina del Reno, Sotto i Felicissimi Auspicii dell'Eccelentissimo Signor D. Francesco de Benavides, Conte di S. Stefano, Vicere, e capitan Generale nel Regno di Napoli. Ragguaglio Historico* (Naples, 1690), pp. 44–56; Andrea Cirino, *Feste celebrate in Napoli per la nascita del serenis.^mo^ Prencipe di Spagna Nostro Signore dall'ecc.^mo^ Sig.^r^ Conte di Castriglio, Viceré e Lungotenente e Capitan Generale nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1658), pp. 135–48, Giuseppe Castaldi, *Tributi Ossequiosi della Fedelissima Città di Napoli, Per li Applausi Festivi delle Nozze Reali del Cattolico Monarca Carlo Secondo, Ré delle Spagne con la Serenissima Signora Maria Luisa Borbone. Sotto la direttione dell'Eccellentissimo Signor Marchese de los Velez Viceré di Napoli. Relatione istorica* (Naples, 1680), pp. 30–38, and Francesco Valentini, *Descrittione del sontuoso torneo fatto nella fidelissima città di Napoli l'anno MDCXII. Con la relazione di molt'altre feste Per allegrezza delli Regij accasamenti seguiti fra le Potentissime Corone Spagna, e Francia. Raccolta dal Signor F.V. Anconitano, Dottor di leggi, & Accademico Eccentrico. Dedicata all'illustrissima, & Eccelentissima Signora D. Caterina Sandoval Contessa di Lemos Viceregina del Regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1612), p. 12 ff.

[29] Domenico Antonio Parrino, *Teatro eroico e politico de' governi de' vicerè del regno di Napoli, dal tempo di Ferdinando il Cattolico fino al presente* in *Raccolta di tutti i più rinomati scrittori del istoria generale del regno di Napoli*, vols 9–10, ed. Giovanni Gravier, (2 vols, Naples, 1768–1770), vol. 2, pp. 190–91.

his stay in Naples in 1535.[30] Although she did not recognize him, prompted by his aristocratic appearance she bestowed on him the most desirable blessing she could think of: 'I wish I live to see you [become] Viceroy of Naples.'[31] This relatively favourable image of the viceregal court in Naples maintained itself for almost 60 years, stretching from the end of the Italian wars in 1559 to the beginning of the Thirty Years War in 1618, during which time Naples, like the rest of Italy, enjoyed a period of relative political stability.[32]

However, with the beginning of the Thirty Years War Spain became more and more heavily engaged on various fronts, which brought about the more frequent levying of taxes and drafting of soldiers from the various Spanish territories – Naples included. Accordingly, the popularity of viceroys, as well as of other Spanish residents in Naples, suffered a sharp decline from the 1620s onwards. Besides creating hostile public opinion, these grievances triggered violent outbursts during times of acute social and economic distress. In one extreme example the Neapolitan plebs threw stones at the viceroy's carriage, forcing him to flee in real danger of his life.[33] This may well be regarded as a prelude to the popular revolt of 1647 during which the Spaniards had to evacuate the city and stay away for almost a year. Paradoxically, during the first phase of the rebellion against the royal representative and his administration it coexisted with cries of loyalty to the king. Aurelio Musi has explained this dilemma via Naples's double identity as both kingdom and viceroyalty, which had a serious bearing on the collective imagination of Neapolitans. When they thought of themselves as belonging to the Spanish kingdom they pictured a positive (not to say glorifying) image, coloured with the mystic, divine quality of absolutist monarchy.[34] Therefore, as noted by Croce, 'loyalty to the sovereign, to the king of Spain, became a source of pride, and a point of honour; the word and the image of 'rebellion' aroused a shudder of disgust, like the direst of crimes, parricide or impiety'.[35] On the other hand, the viceregal institution became more and more associated, during the seventeenth century, with the peripheralization of southern Italy within the imperial system

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[30] The French traveller Madame d'Aulnoy tells a similar story about a Spanish lady, recently arrived at the Spanish court from Naples, who repeated the same statement to the Spanish king Charles II. See José García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal* (6 vols, Salamanca, 1999), vol. 4, p. 105.

[31] Giulio Cesare Capaccio, *Il forastiero: Dialoghi* (Naples, 1634), p. 412.

[32] Bruno Anatra, 'L'affermazione dell'egemonia spagnola e gli stati italiani', in Giovanni Cherubini et al. (eds), *Storia della società italiana*, vol. 10: *Il tramonto del Rinascimento* (Milan, 1987), pp. 63–101.

[33] See the entire sequence of events in Scipione Guerra, *Diurnali di Scipione Guerra*, ed. Giuseppe De Montemayor (Naples, 1891), p. 130 ff.

[34] Musi, 'La fedeltà al re', pp. 157–8.

[35] Benedetto Croce, *History of the Kingdom of Naples*, trans. Frances Frenaye (Chicago, 1970), p. 100.

and with the increasingly oppressive fiscal policies of Spain.[36] In fact the revolt is generally regarded as a result of growing social discontent of the lower classes, directed against the Neapolitan nobility as much as against Spain's repressive policies. This point is confirmed by the nobility's continuous backing of Spanish attempts to regain control during the revolt's ten-month duration.[37]

Nevertheless, the revolt's aftermath revealed that the *popolo* appeared to be more than ready to be reconciled with the monarchy, and even to resume the submissive role expected of it. This can be exemplified by the customary *apparato* staged by the *popolo* in the viceroy's honour for the celebrations of St John the Baptist in 1650, as described by a contemporary testimony:

> The feast started at the Royal Palace where an arch was erected, through which one entered the *apparato*, on the sides of which were erected two statues … On the right was the statue of love with a crowned head, holding in its hand a cornucopia full of riches, signifying the love with which the Spanish Monarchy rules over us. On the left was the statue of loyalty with a shield in its hand in which was a depiction of the *popolo*'s coat of arms, under which there was a dog alluding to the Neapolitan's loyalty towards his Catholic kings, and this love and loyalty was the subject of the entire celebration … because all of the statues, *imprese* and scenes did not allude to anything else but that.[38]

To proceed further in this investigation it is necessary to take a step back and sketch the social and political structure of the city's inhabitants. Carlo Celano, the contemporary writer of one of the most celebrated guides to the city, gives a concise description: 'the population of this city consists of nobles [*nobili*], and commoners [*popolari*]; and these are divided into citizens, known as civil people, and plebs. The nobles live separately from the commoners; and these nobles are of two kinds, one belonging to the *piazza* [*nobiltà di piazza*], the other outside the *piazza* [*nobiltà fuori piazza*].'[39] Let us take a deeper look at these categories.

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[36] On some of the disastrous results of these policies, see Antonio Calabria, *The Cost of Empire. The Finances of the Kingdom of Naples in the Time of Spanish Rule* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 50–53, 88–90.

[37] For a contemporary account of the swift restoration, see Innocenzo Fuidoro, *Successi del governo del conte d'Oñatte: 1648–1653*, ed. Alfredo Parente (Naples, 1932).

[38] See the manuscript diary of Andrea Rubino, held in the library of the Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, Ms. XVIII. D. 14, *Notitia di quanto é occorso in Napoli dall'anno 1648 per tutto l'anno 1657*, fols 35–6.

[39] Carlo Celano, *Notizie del bello, dell'antico e del curioso della città di Napoli: divise dall'autore in dieci giornate per guida e comodo de' viaggiatori*, ed. Atanasio Mozzillo et al. (3 vols, Naples, 1970), vol. 1, p. 16.

The noble *piazze* consisted of five urban districts called Capuana, Nido, Porto, Portanova and Montagna, to one of which each noble family belonging to the urban patriciate was assigned. At the apex of this group stood the 'titled nobility' – princes, dukes, marquises, counts – who were successful in exerting their power both in the city, by participating in the urban *piazza*, and in the countryside, within the jurisdiction of their feudal territories. There was a high level of cohesiveness within this elite group, which became especially evident with its concerted efforts to close admission to its ranks after the middle of the sixteenth century. The nobles outside the *piazza* formed a group much more heterogeneous than the patriciate and included Neapolitan nobles of pure aristocratic and feudal origin, nobles from other Italian cities, nobles of Spanish roots and many 'new' nobles of popular origins. The difference between them and the patriciate lay not in the degree of nobility, but in access to the *piazza*, which enabled participation in the government of the city.[40]

Giulio Cesare Capaccio, a perceptive contemporary commentator on Neapolitan social reality, despite his elitist bias gives a detailed account of the city's *popolo*. The social group that Celano calls simply 'citizens' is subdivided by Capaccio into three parts. The first is extremely wealthy and lives in grand noble style, intermarrying with the nobility and aspiring to be fully integrated within the noble ranks. The second consists of the group of jurist-bureaucrats known as the *togati*, who were recruited by the Crown to serve in the various courts of justice and in high administrative posts.[41] Their political might was such that, according to Capaccio, they could 'rule over nobles'. The third group of Neapolitan citizenry

[40] For the differentiation of the various kinds of nobility, see Giovanni Muto, '"I segni d'honore". Rappresentazioni delle dinamiche nobiliari a Napoli in età moderna', in Maria Antonietta Visceglia (ed.), *Signori, patrizi, cavalieri in Italia centro-meridionale nell'età moderna* (Rome, 1992), pp. 175–7. For a general survey of Neapolitan society, see Muto, 'Il regno di Napoli sotto la dominazione spagnola', in Giovanni Cherubini et al. (eds), *Storia della società italiana* (25 vols, Milan, 1989), vol. 11, pp. 225–316; and Giuseppe Galasso, *Napoli spagnola dopo Masaniello: politica, cultura, società* (2 vols, Florence, 1982), vol. 1, pp. xi–xxix. For fundamental studies of the nobility in the kingdom of Naples, see Gérard Labrot, *Baroni in città: residenze e comportamenti dell' aristocrazia napoletana, 1530–1734* (Naples, 1979); Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *Il bisogno di eternità*. *Comportamenti aristocratici a Napoli in età moderna* (Naples, 1988); Tommaso Astarita, *The Continuity of Feudal Power: The Caracciolo of Brienza in Spanish Naples* (Cambridge, 1992); and Carlos José Hernando Sánchez, 'La cultura nobiliaria en el virreinato de Nápoles durante el siglo XVI', *Historia Social*, 28 (1997): 95–112. For a contemporary description, see Camillo Tutini, *Dell'origine e fundation de'seggi di Napoli* (Naples, 1644).

[41] The unquestionable political importance of this group is evidenced by the numerous studies it attracted. Among the more fundamental are: Vittor Ivo Comparato, *Uffici e società a Napoli (1600–1647). Aspetti dell'ideologia del magistrato nell'Età moderna* (Florence, 1974); Pier Luigi Rovito, *Respublica dei togati. Giuristi e società nella Napoli del Seicento* (Naples, 1981); Aurelio Musi, 'Stato moderno e mediazione burocratica', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 144 (1986): 75–96; and Silvio Zotta, *G. F. De Ponte. Il giurista politico* (Naples, 1987).

included retail merchants and traders and those belonging to the more prestigious guilds. The plebs received harsh judgement from Capaccio. Not only does he not consider them as part of the popular status, but describes them as 'the dregs of the Commonwealth … inclined to conspiracies, revolts, to break rules and customs … almost [functioning as] truncated members … who abuse every small occurrence to turn everything in disarray'.[42] That said, he distinguished between three groups within the plebs: 'some that live with a certain degree of civility', belonging to the lesser guilds, 'some that are considerably declining from civility, and some that by doing the most lowly tasks are reduced to such debasement that they can by no means rise to a true popular state'.[43] To sum up, Neapolitan society was structured in the typical estates system of the *Ancien Régime*.

As for the distribution of political power within these groups, three main forces contested it: the monarchy, the nobility and the upper strata of the *popolo*. In Spanish Naples, as in other European contexts where the centralist tendencies of kings were pursued – especially so when they had to manage composite state systems as did the Habsburgs – the monarchy sought an alliance with popular elements in order to dismantle the feudal power bases of the nobility, which were perceived as obstacles to an effective central government.[44] This alliance of state and *popolo* would materialize in the growing numbers of commoners being integrated in the high offices of the state apparatus alongside Spanish administrators. They would form a new political class, dependent on the monarchy and loyal to it. The nobility, for its part, would try, with varying degrees of success, to retain its strongholds of power.[45]

Obviously, these power struggles would also manifest themselves in concrete occasions on which these three groups interacted. Here I will limit myself to ceremonial issues, which often proved a source of conflict and disharmony between Neapolitans and Spaniards. Very often the Neapolitan nobility questioned the conduct and policies of viceroys or other Spanish officers, protesting against such things as were perceived as ritual affronts to their status, or the excessive punishment of their peers. When formal protest did not achieve the desired results, they sent special envoys to the king to ask him to be the final arbiter, or even

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[42] The full description is in Capaccio, *Il forastiero*, pp. 783–5; quotation at pp. 784–5.

[43] Ibid., p. 785.

[44] For various works on Spanish imperialism in Italy, see Rosario Villari, 'La Spagna, l'Italia e l'assolutismo', *Studi Storici*, 18 (1977): 5–22; Helmut Koenigsberger, *The Government of Sicily under Philip II of Spain: A Study in the Practice of Empire* (London and New York, 1951); Thomas Dandelet, *Spanish Rome, 1500–1700* (New Haven and London, 2001); and the aforementioned collection edited by Aurelio Musi, *Nel sistema imperiale*. Specifically on Naples, see Carlos José Hernando Sanchez, *El Reino de Nápoles en el Imperio de Carlos V. La consolidación de la conquista* (Madrid, 2001); D'Agostino, 'Il governo spagnolo', pp. 3–132; and Musi, 'Il Regno di Napoli e il sistema imperiale', pp. 23–35.

[45] See Galasso, 'La Spagna imperiale', pp. 24–30; and Aurelio Musi, 'Stato e stratificazioni sociali nel regno di Napoli', in his *L'Italia dei Viceré*, pp. 171–4.

demanded the viceroy's removal from office. I will relate just one example to illustrate this point, namely the Neapolitan visit of Philip IV's sister, Maria of Austria, on her way to Hungary to marry Ferdinand III.[46] There was a general agreement among contemporaries that the idea of having her visit Naples was born out of the malicious intentions of her escort, the previous viceroy of Naples, the Duke of Alba, who wanted 'to obscure with his presence' the authority of his successor in the office, the Duke of Alcalá, 'with whom he remained in a hateful exchange since his departure'.[47] Indeed, there is plenty of evidence to show that Alba did everything possible to belittle, embarrass or discredit Alcalá's conduct.[48] Alba's intrigues were also aided by Maria's own punctilious disposition and the ceremonial sensibilities of Neapolitans. Indeed, whether it was Alba's doing or not, from the very start of her visit she alienated the entire city with a controversial entrance which did not follow the usual order of precedence. Next, she immediately steered a collision course with the Neapolitan ladies who wished to visit her. Conforming to Spanish etiquette, she declared that only the great ladies of the titled nobility would be allowed to sit on cushions, with all the rest sitting on the floor. Consequently, very few ladies honoured her with a visit.[49] If indeed the plan was to damage his foe, Alba succeeded fully because the Duke of Alcalá was summoned to Madrid by Philip IV before the end of his term, to account for the various ceremonial blunders attributed to him during Maria's visit.[50] Ultimately, the entire episode shows how a malicious person, placed in a position of power and knowing how to manipulate the sensitivities of the Neapolitan elite to his own advantage, could exploit the power inherent in issues of precedence and etiquette in order to achieve political objectives.

So much for the nobility, but what about the lower strata of the population? The evidence from Naples shows a fierce rivalry between some of the higher elements of the Neapolitan third estate and the nobility, who fought over concrete

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[46] The visit of Maria of Habsburg, Philip IV's sister, to Naples (1630) and the numerous ritual disputes that it produced among Neapolitans and the Spanish authorities were discussed fully in the following sources: José Raneo, *Etiquetas de la corte de Nápoles, 1634* (New York, 1912); Antonio Paz y Mélia (ed.), *Revue Hispanique*, 27 (1912): 196–200; Capaccio, *Forastiero*, pp. 954–61, 1020–22; and especially in the diary of Ferrante Bucca. The daily account of the queen's four-month stay in Naples appears in his 'Aggionta alli Diurnali di Scipione Guerra', *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, 36/2 (1911): 336–82 and 36/3 (1911): 507–14. Of relevance to these issues is Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, 'Gift and Diplomacy in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Italy', *The Historical Journal*, 51/4 (2008): 881–99.

[47] The quotations are from Parrino, *Teatro eroico*, vol. 1, p. 413, and Bucca, 'Aggionta', p. 337.

[48] Bucca, 'Aggionta', p. 338.

[49] See the letter dated 7 August 7 1630 in Francesco Palermo (ed.), 'Documenti sulla storia civile ed economica del regno, cavati dal Carteggio degli Agenti del Granduca di Toscana in Napoli', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 9 (1846): 305.

[50] Bucca, 'Aggionta', p. 536.

political issues related to the civic rule of the city, and also competed for honorific privileges at public civic ceremonies. The *popolo* eventually acknowledged the traditional privileges of the higher nobility as long as it kept clearing more and more room for them in the political arena. This seems to be the case even for those commoners who saw the nobility as a 'reference group' as they looked for ennoblement. In fact there is abundant evidence showing social *arrivistes* of ignoble origins, promoted and ennobled by the Crown, who could not, or would not, integrate into the cultural world of the old nobility. They chose either to decline competitions of conspicuous consumption with their peers of older lineage, or presented alternative models of self-representation. An interesting example of the alternative values of the ascending groups is shown in Vincenzo Pacelli's investigation of the artistic portraiture of power. On the one hand, they competed with the old nobility to secure chapels across the city where they could immortalize their deceased family members. On the other hand, the traditional aristocratic model of the martial and chivalric warrior, depicted or sculpted with his armour, sword and coat of arms, was supplanted by that of a long-robed man surrounded by his books, symbolizing the learned means which had brought about his ascendance in the world.[51] An example relevant to our subject was the occasion of Charles II's wedding in 1680. The viceroy, the Marquis of Los Velez, organized a solemn cavalcade, and sent a letter to all the barons and feudal overlords of the realm to 'appear with splendour'. However, many of these, to quote a seventeenth-century chronicler: 'being ignoble and of no praise, hence not apt to such a solemn function, exempted themselves from appearing, contenting themselves with being taxed for a certain sum of money'.[52] Similarly, the Prince of Castiglione asked to be excused from participating at a tournament organized by the viceroy for the same occasion, apologizing for his poor riding skills – being a doctor in law who had spent all his life in the judicial courts.[53] These are all clear signs of the emerging Neapolitan elite of *togati* that would gain considerable political power by the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The voice of the lowest social groups of Neapolitan society on this issue can be heard via the contemporary account of the revolt of 1647 by Giuseppe Donzelli, who presents one of the few versions that are favourable towards the popular masses. He often puts in the mouth of the fisherman Masaniello, the leader of the revolt, comments reflecting his pride in his social status. For example, in an incident when Masaniello saw a group of curious nobles assembled under the window of his house, trying to steal a glimpse of the new popular leader, he admonished them: 'Gentlemen, leave here, otherwise I will have your heads chopped off, because I want no other company than simple barefoot people, like

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[51] See Vincenzo Pacelli, 'L'ideologia del potere nella rittrattistica napoletana del Seicento', *Bollettino del Centro di Studi Vichiani*, 16 (1986): 230–31.

[52] Domenico Confuorto, *Giornali di Napoli dal MDCLXXIX al MDCIC*, ed. Nicola Nicolini (2 vols, Naples, 1930), vol. 1, p. 28. For the official record, see Castaldi, *Tributi Ossequiosi*.

[53] Confuorto, *Giornali*, vol. 1, p. 24.

myself.'[54] This popular hostility towards the Neapolitan nobility reflects well the deep scissions dividing Neapolitan society, which would eventually transcend the period of Spanish rule.

My next objective is to examine the extent to which Spaniards and Neapolitans coincided over issues of morality within the family. Defending family honour with fervour has been well documented in many traditional Mediterranean cultures. In fact some anthropological studies speak of 'the Mediterranean code of honour and shame' to express this practice.[55] For example, in a celebrated essay tracing the historical roots of the horn symbol in Mediterranean societies, Anton Blok has proved how ideas deriving from a common pastoral heritage have directly affected concepts of family dishonour. According to Blok, the billy-goat, perceived as a particularly lascivious animal, allows other males to copulate with his mate. From this, he argues, would derive the sign of the horns to mark a cuckolded husband, and men would be called he-goats in various languages of the Mediterranean – *becco* in Italian, *cabrón* in Spanish and *cabrão* in Portuguese.[56] Although Frank Henderson Stewart is among those who reject the notion of a coherent and unified code of Mediterranean honour, he agrees that there is some truth in the suggestion that 'Southern Europeans are more affected by the chastity of their women than Northern Europeans are.'[57]

The Spanish law codes under Habsburg rule reflect a full acceptance of such social norms. Thus, according to one decree: 'If a married woman commits adultery, she and her fellow adulterer shall be submitted to the power of the husband, and he may do whatever he wishes with them and their property, though he cannot kill one and spare the other.'[58] This practice was followed closely in Naples. Maria of Avalos (Princess of Venosa), Giulia Orsino (Princess of Bisignano) and Ippolita Carafa of Stigliano are just three well-known examples of noblewomen of the highest ranks who were 'executed' by their families for adultery.[59] A manuscript conserved in the National Library of Naples bears witness to the tragic conclusion of the illicit liaison of Maria of Avalos and Fabrizio Carafa, Duke of Andria in 1580. When Maria's husband discovered his wife's treachery he plotted to cleanse his honour with blood. Pretending to leave for a hunting expedition, he returned in the early hours of the morning with three accomplices, surprised the lovers in

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[54] Giuseppe Donzelli, *Partenope liberata*, ed. A. Altamura (Naples, 1970), p. 74.

[55] See, for example, Forouz Jowkar, 'Honour and Shame: A Feminist View from Within', *Feminist Issues*, 6/1 (1986): 45–65, p. 50.

[56] Anton Blok, 'Rams and Billy-Goats: A Key to the Mediterranean Code of Honour', *Man*, 16/3 (1981): 427–40.

[57] Frank Henderson Stewart, *Honor* (Chicago, 1994), p. 108.

[58] Jon Cowans (ed.), *Early Modern Spain: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia, 2003), p. 201.

[59] Adelaide Cirillo Mastrocinque, 'Cinquecento napoletano', in Ernesto Pontieri (ed.), *Storia di Napoli*, vol. 4 (2nd edn, Naples, 1976), p. 552.

his wife's bed and killed them on the spot.[60] The preamble to the account warns of the perils of

> the inconstant heat, and the incontrollable desire of a beautiful and vain woman; because we see how with only one sign from her a man is willing to risk his soul, his life, and his honour, and consequently seized by the just wrath of God, they serve as a most miserable spectacle for the whole world.[61]

These value judgements – which take for granted the culpability of the ever-seductive woman and fully justify a husband's action – reflect well contemporary public opinion on such matters.

The affinity between Spanish and Neapolitan values on the issue also found symbolical expression in women's clothes. Costume research has shown the connection, albeit weak, between the success of Spanish fashion in Europe and the advent of the Catholic Reformation. In pursuing this argument further I have tried to connect ideas of morality and appearance voiced by religious leaders during the Catholic Reformation with the application of these ideas in the garments of the Spaniards who carried the banner of the religious movement.[62] Spanish women, who were targeted as the principal offenders against morality – endangering their family's reputation by the display of their bodies – adopted austere, dark and constrictive garments. The guiding rule seems to have been the total concealment of the feminine body, as if moral integrity could be gained and preserved by these means. These fashions succeeded best where the political hegemony of Spain and the Counter-Reformist reaction was most pronounced. In the Italian peninsula, places like Naples, Milan, Palermo and Rome – where both these tendencies prevailed – displayed the fashion of Spain, whereas Venice, which evaded the Spanish grasp, managed to display a more distinctive and liberating style.[63] This fashion prevailed for about a hundred years, more or less from the 1550s to the

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[60] The anonymous manuscript is in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, Ms. XV G23, *Successo Tragico degl'amori di D. Maria d'Avalos Principessa di Venosa, e D. Fabrizio Carafa, Duca d'Andria; coll'Informazione pigliata dalla G. C. della Vic.a per la miserabil morte nel dì 19 8bre 1590*, fols 118r–135v.

[61] Ibid., fol. 118r.

[62] Gabriel Guarino, 'Regulation of Appearances During the Catholic Reformation: Dress and Morality in Spain and Italy', in Myriam Yardeni and Ilana Zinguer (eds), *Les deux réformes chrétiennes: Propagation et diffusion* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 492–510.

[63] For some recent evaluations of Spanish fashion in Italy, see Amedeo Quondam, 'Tutti i colori del nero. Moda "alla spagnola" e "migliore forma italiana"', in Annalisa Zanni and Andrea di Lorenzo (eds), *Giovan Battista Moroni. Il cavaliere in nero. Immagine del gentiluomo nel Cinquecento* (Milan, 2005), pp. 25–45; Grazietta Butazzi, '*Vesti di* "*molta fattura*": Reflections on Spanish-Influenced Fashion in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century', in Annalisa Zanni (ed.), *Velluti e moda: tra XV e XVII secolo* (Milan, 1999), pp. 169–75.

middle of the seventeenth century; or, in the chronological limits of the Catholic Reformation, from the Council of Trent to the Peace of Westphalia.

The austere Spanish fashion was eventually supplanted by the lively and liberating style of France, which spread across Europe and beyond from Louis XIV's model court at Versailles. The inherent link between clothes and behaviour is discernible in many European languages, where such words as 'habit' and 'costume' refer to both dress and comportment. According to the testimony of the Neapolitan political thinker Paolo Mattia Doria, writing in the first two decades of the eighteenth century, Neapolitan women had now shed their modest Spanish clothes, together with their reserved attitude, in favour of the liberating French mode, which not only freed the bosom, neck and legs, but apparently also unbridled the tongue. In his opinion, Naples has gone through an external change that had begun to facilitate free conversation between the two sexes, although the mental processes were still not ripe for a complete change of attitude. Most men, according to Doria, 'allow women to speak freely and at the same time criticize them and evoke the good old habits of modesty … this fact makes the conversation more burdensome than enjoyable, because the ladies, feeling that they are under constant censorship, behave timidly, not daring to employ their innocent grace and liveliness'.[64] Significantly, according to Doria, those responsible for this were precisely the Spaniards, who 'implanted in the hearts of Neapolitans the principle of excessive severity towards women, which they compensate with exaggerated signs of admiration and adulation … in order to shield themselves from a taint on their honour, caused by their women's sins'.[65] Should we believe that the Spanish influence continued forcefully even after their departure? Given Doria's strong anti-Spanish biases, one should assess his opinions with a pinch of salt. In this case, I believe that Spaniards and Neapolitans indeed saw eye to eye, but that this affinity derived from the common Mediterranean heritage rather than Spanish influences on Neapolitan mentality.

Finally, we will now move on to evaluate the affinity between the religious identity of Spaniards and Neapolitans. Spain's racial policies towards Muslims and Jews, and later towards *Moriscos* and *conversos*, had their roots in the time of the *Reconquista*. The establishment of the Inquisition and the expulsion of Spanish Jewry mark the high points in the hard-line religious policies of the Catholic monarchs which would deeply affect the future of Spain and its dominions. For example, the cognate implementation of discriminatory policies based on purity of blood excluded converted families from various positions and privileges.[66] In this

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[64] Paolo Mattia Doria, *Massime del governo spagnolo a Napoli*, ed. Vittorio Conti (Naples, 1973), pp. 48–9.

[65] Ibid., p. 50.

[66] On the effects of Spanish racial policies on national consciousness, see Koenigsberger, 'National Consciousness', pp. 126–30. For a fundamental thesis concerning the effects of Islam and Judaism on Spanish history, see Américo Castro, *España en su historia: Cristianos, Moros y Judios* (Buenos Aires, 1948).

respect, the treatment of Jews and Muslims in Naples reflected Spanish anxieties and biases, but not necessarily those of Neapolitans. At the end of 1492, the same year as the expulsion of Spanish Jewry, King Ferdinand banished the Jews from his Sicilian and Sardinian possessions. Curiously, many found refuge in Aragonese Naples, where Ferdinand's cousin, Ferrante I, was willing to protect them.[67] After the passage of the kingdom to Ferdinand's hands, Naples did not prove a safe haven for long, and its Jews were expelled in two waves, dating from 1510 and 1541.[68] Why did the Spaniards wait so long? The twists and turns of Spain's Jewish policy in Naples are attributed by experts to the opposition of the local population, which did not identify with the Spanish hostility towards Jewry, at least not initially, and preferred to benefit from the important economic function provided by the Jewish moneylenders. This assessment is reinforced by the fact that the signs of infamy imposed on the Jews were enforced about a year before the two expulsions, as if to test public opinion before making the drastic move. Moreover, the larger expulsion in 1510 was accomplished as a deal struck between Neapolitan citizens and the Spanish rulers. The Spaniards agreed to nullify their plan and establish the Inquisition in Spanish style in the face of strong local opposition, but only if the Jews were expelled.[69]

Although the Roman Inquisition operated intermittently in Naples, Neapolitans opposed the idea of establishing the Spanish version on their soil.[70] First, the nobility was opposed because its establishment would have weakened their own position vis-à-vis the Spanish monarchy and, second, it seemed intolerable to Neapolitans that of all people the Spaniards would question their Catholic faith. In fact, according to Croce, in this respect Spanish racial policies backfired, damaging their own image in the eyes of Italians. Paradoxically, Spaniards came to be associated with an imperfect religious orthodoxy. The harsh repression imposed by the Spanish Inquisition in the Iberian Peninsula brought Italians to

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[67] David Abulafia, 'Il Mezzogiorno peninsulare dai bizantini all'espulsione (1541)', in Corrado Vivanti (ed.), *Gli ebrei in Italia*, vol. 1: *Dall'alto Medioevo all'età dei ghetti*, *Storia d'Italia: Annali 11* (Turin, 1996), pp. 36–7.

[68] Last to follow Naples was Spain's latest acquisition, the Duchy of Milan, from which the Jews were expelled in 1597.

[69] See Viviana Bonazzoli, 'Gli ebrei del regno di Napoli all'epoca della loro espulsione: Il periodo spagnolo (1501–1541)', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 139 (1981): 179–287. For a general review of ethnic minorities in the Kingdom of Naples, see Vincenzo Giura, *Storie di minoranze. Ebrei, greci, albanesi nel regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1984).

[70] For the inquisition in Naples, see the pioneering study of Luigi Amabile, *Il santo ufficio della inquisizione in Napoli* (2 vols, Città di Castello, 1892). For a classic comparative study, see Henry Charles Lea, *The Inquisition of the Spanish Dependencies: Sicily, Naples, Sardinia, Milan, The Canaries, Mexico, Peru, New Granada* (New York, 1908), pp. 49–108. For more recent works, see Giovanni Romeo, *Aspettando il boia. Condannati a morte, confortatori e inquisitori nella Napoli della Controriforma* (Florence, 1993), and Avelino Sotelo Alvarez, *La inquisición en la Nápoles aragonesa virreinal (1442–1547)* (Torrevieja, 2001).

the logical conclusion that such measures proved Spanish blameworthiness.[71] The greatest irony was that, outside Spain, Spaniards were referred to as *marranos* – the Spanish derogatory word for converted Jews. An extreme example is provided by the Neapolitan Pope, Paul IV, a hateful foe of Spain who used to call them 'heretics, schismatics, and cursed by God, semen of Jews and *marranos*, excrement of the world'.[72]

In conclusion, let us try to reassess the degree of identification of Neapolitans with their Spanish rulers. In terms of national pride, it took a few decades for the Neapolitans to adjust to the idea of losing Naples's position as a royal court with a resident king; but eventually they learned to identify with the Spanish monarchy and its aims, owing to its unrivalled international prestige. In terms of family values, there seems to be quite a high level of affinity between Spaniards and Neapolitans, which may best be attributed to a shared Mediterranean patriarchal tradition. As for social status, somewhat paradoxically, the ceremonial conflicts of the Neapolitan nobility with the Spanish administration suggest that they shared a heightened sensibility regarding honorific issues. However, these ritual disagreements did not prevent them from forging a long-lasting political partnership over more than 200 years of Spanish rule. In fact, it appears that internal social divisions between the Neapolitan third estate and the nobility ran deeper than those running along national lines between Neapolitans and Spaniards, as is clear from the loyalty shown by the Neapolitan nobility to the Spanish monarchy during the popular rebellion of 1647 and the tumultuous relationship between the various social groups within the city. Finally, regarding religious identity, Neapolitans perceived themselves as possessing a superior religious integrity to the Spaniards, and could not bear the idea of a purifying mechanism imposed by the Spaniards. It is therefore no wonder that the few significant revolts in Naples during the 200 years of Spanish rule arose over conflicts revolving around social crises (the revolt of Starace in 1580 and Masaniello's revolt in 1647) and religious issues during the first half of the sixteenth century (1509 and especially 1547), when the Spaniards tried to impose their own form of Inquisition.

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[71] Croce, *La Spagna*, pp. 210–13. See also Giovanni Romeo, 'La suggestione dell'ebraismo tra i napoletani del tardo Cinquecento', in Michele Luzzati (ed.), *L'inquisizione e gli ebrei in Italia* (Rome and Bari, 1994), pp. 179–95. The author describes a curious attraction of particular Neapolitan Christians towards the Jewish faith in the late sixteenth century, when the physical absence of Jews transformed Judaism into a fascinating quasi-mythical object of interest.

[72] Testimony of the Venetian ambassador Bernardo Navagero, quoted in Croce, *La Spagna*, p. 210.

PART II
Politics and Communication

Chapter 5
Venomous Words and Political Poisons: Language(s) of Exclusion in Early Modern France

Silje Normand

In a world in which health was a question of the balancing of humours, poison appeared to be everywhere. 'All elements that have qualities that are too hot, or too cold, subtle & corrosive, are poisons', concluded Antoine Furetière, having compiled what seemed an almost interminable list of poisonous substances, ranging from soap to menstrual blood.[1] If the physical manifestations of poison and the poisoner appeared abundant in the early modern period, the presence of poison metaphors in early modern speech was equally pervasive. The 1694 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* defined poisoning as said figuratively of 'all that corrupts the mind and the mores', whereas Furetière informed his reader that the verb *empoisonner* 'is said figuratively of spiritual & moral things.'[2] Poison metaphors appeared in moral, religious and medical treatises, in discussions of theatre, literature and ideology and in debates on the nature of language and writing itself.

Early modern poison treatises and dictionaries provided graphic depictions of poison's effects in a series of evocative images.[3] Venoms were articulated as violent and gruesome, malign and devious. They were hidden, they were subtle, they were insinuating. Once within the body, their spread was often inevitable. Like atrocious diseases, they induced putrefaction, gangrene and the blackening of the body. They corroded the entrails, congealed the blood and bloated the body. Authors on poison warned of irremediable occult poisons and emphasized their remarkable powers of diffusion. Poison was likened to a drop of dye expanding in the pool of the body, affecting all bodily extremities despite its minute size; it was visualized as yeast, a tiny body with devastating effects; it was compared to a spark of fire which had the power to consume a mountain of hay and reduce it to nothing.

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[1] *Poison* in Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel* (1690). All translations are the author's.

[2] *Empoisonner*, ibid. and in *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* (1694).

[3] For the image of poison within French early modern poison treatises, see Silje Normand, *Perceptions of Poison: Defining the Poisonous in Early Modern France*, PhD thesis, University of Cambridge (2004), pp. 37–60.

Most strikingly, within the body poison initiated a process of transmutation: 'For as meat converts itself to blood … so venom on the contrary transmutes the body and the limbs that it touches into a particular and venomous nature.'[4] Early modern poison authors argued that poison converted the bodily fluids it first touched into its own poisonous nature, and through those fluids converted others and so forth, so that eventually it would conquer the entire body, 'just as a captain wishing to deliver a town from the hands of an enemy, attempts to draw as many men as he can to serve on the given day'.[5] The struggle between life and death was thus a battle between poisons and humours for supremacy in the body.

The crime of poisoning was considered particularly perverse because it was associated with treachery. In order to administer the poison, the poisoner was dependent on direct access to the victim. Poison incarnated danger from where it was least expected – the caring mother, the loving wife, the attentive cook, the protective taster. The level of duplicity inherent in the poisoning crime led it to be classified separately from other types of murder throughout most of Europe, and the poisoner was branded the most abhorrent of criminals. The 1682 French royal ordinance against the public selling of poisons insisted that 'the crimes that are committed by poison are … the most detestable & the most dangerous of all'.[6] 'The poisoner,' Grévin admonished in his book on poisons, 'is hated, hunted, & pursued to an ignominious death'.[7] As an illicit power, poison implied transgression. It empowered the weak while disabling the strong. In suspected cases of poisoning there was almost inevitably a question of financial, social or political advancement. Poison provided a means of usurping rigid hierarchies that might constrain the poisoner. Its use was thus intimately associated with the disruption of order. Speaking of poisoning as a series of inversions, the witchcraft sceptic Reginald Scot remarked:

> Trulie this poisoning art called *Veneficium*, of all others is most abhominable; as whereby murthers maie be committed, where no suspicion maie be gathered, nor anie resistance can be made; the strong cannot avoid the weake, the wise cannot prevent the foolish, the godlie cannot be preserved from the hands of the wicked, children maie hereby kill their parents, the servant the maister, the wife hir husband, so privilie, so inevitablie, and so incurablie, that of all other it hath been thought the most odious kind of murther[8]

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[4] Ambroise Paré, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. J.-F. Malgaigne (3 vols, Paris, 1840–1841), p. 285.

[5] Ibid., p. 287; Jacques Grévin, *Deux livres des venins* (Anvers, 1567–1568), p. 190.

[6] *Edit du Roy pour la punition de différents crimes, registré en Parlement le 31. Août. 1682* (Paris, 1682), p. 5.

[7] Grévin, *Deux livres des venins*, p. 7.

[8] Reginald Scot, *The discoverie of witchcraft* [1584] (New York, 1972), p. 67.

The multitude of poisoning accusations and the preponderance of poison language in early modern France, however, are no accurate measure of the abundance of poison crime in this period. As Voltaire astutely remarked in his *Dictionnaire philosophique*, 'Let us repeat valuable truths often. There have always been fewer poisonings than has been said … the accusations have been common, and these crimes have been very rare.'[9] The presence of poison accusations, whether literal or metaphorical, in seditious libels, vicious pamphlets and hostile memoirs alongside a number of other similar tarnishing indictments, illustrates poison's power of stigmatization. Regarding the poisonings frequently attributed to Catherine de Médicis, Jean-François Dubost justly observed: 'What matters is the emblematic function attributed to poison: it serves to demonstrate the radical absence of moral sense in those that use it. The theme of the poisoner has a didactic rather than a documentary value.'[10]

In her pioneering anthropological work, *Purity and Danger*, Mary Douglas argued that conceptions of purity, pollution and contamination are in fact attempts to impose order within the social realm. 'Dirt,' she claimed, is 'matter out of place' and 'ideas about separating, demarcating and punishing transgressions have as their main function to impose system on an inherently untidy experience'.[11] To label something impure was thus an attempt to exclude it from the social order. As Susan Sontag later remarked in her work on disease metaphors, 'a polluting person is always wrong, as Mary Douglas has observed. The inverse is also true: a person judged to be wrong is regarded as, at least potentially, a source of pollution.'[12] Because the poisoning crime was considered so abhorrent and was so closely associated with ideas of perversion, subversion and communal disorder, the poison metaphor – like the language of pollution – was particularly appropriate for designating, describing and demarcating dissidence, whether religious, moral, social or sexual.

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In early modern treatises against medical dissidence, the language of poison was prominent. Two of the main works dedicated to the eradication of 'charlatan' medicine in early modern France were André du Breil's *La police de l'art et science de medecine* (1580) and Thomas Sonnet de Courval's *Satyre contre les charlatans* (1610).[13] These treatises were not directed solely at the traditional street-vending

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[9] *Empoisonnements* in Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique* (Paris, 1765).

[10] Jean-François Dubost, *La France italienne: XVI^e–XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1997), p. 320.

[11] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London, 1966), pp. 36, 4.

[12] Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphors* (London, 1991), p. 134.

[13] André du Breil, *La police de l'art et science de medecine* … (Paris, 1580); Thomas Sonnet de Courval, *Satyre contre les charlatans* … (Paris, 1610).

performer, but against a whole host of medical practitioners who were seen to err from the prescribed methods of the Galenic corpus, or who simply lacked the desired medical qualifications. 'In the mouth of a Parisian physician,' argued Brockliss and Jones, 'the term [charlatan] served as a smearing implement rather than denoting any precise sociological constituency'.[14] As the medical marketplace expanded during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, traditional Galenist orthodoxy and privileges were increasingly challenged, notably by followers of the German Protestant empiric Paracelsus (1493–1541), who advocated the use of empirical methods and chemical remedies. Confrontations between Paracelsians and Galenists in France often coincided with other long-standing religious, social and political conflicts of power, feeding upon hostilities between Protestants and Catholics, physicians and apothecaries, court physicians and university physicians, and the rivalry of the respective medical schools of Montpellier and of Paris.[15] Much of the animosity expressed against those labelled charlatans and 'pseudo-empirical physicians' related to the increasing positions of influence that such 'illicit' practitioners enjoyed. While members of the faculty of medicine of Paris referred to all those not educated in the capital as 'foreign physicians' and forbade them to practise medicine within the city, Paracelsian physicians often benefited from royal patronage which allowed them to circumvent such prohibitions, thus threatening the strict barriers and privileges that the Paris Medical Faculty had established and enjoyed for centuries.

Breil and Courval's treatises were filled with references to the poisonous, pest-filled drugs of the empirical Paracelsian physicians. Courval spoke of 'plague-ridden & poisonous drugs', Breil of 'mortiferous poisons'.[16] For Breil and Courval the phrase 'empirical physician' was practically synonymous with 'poisoner', a fact they pointed out several times in their treatises.[17] In addition to their use of poisonous remedies and their dangerous visions of medicine, Breil and Courval accused these rival practitioners of being morally accountable for the increase in criminal poisonings, for 'if there were no vendors of drugs, & mortiferous poisons to those who would abuse them, there would not be so many seducers, & poisoners'.[18] Nor were such 'empirics' simply accused of inflicting bodily harm; by causing sudden death and denying the patient the possibility of confession, they

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[14] Laurence Brockliss and Colin Jones, *The Medical World of Early Modern France* (Oxford, 1997), p. 233.

[15] For the rivalry between Galenists and Paracelsians in France, see Allen G. Debus, *The French Paracelsians: The Chemical Challenge to Medical and Scientific Tradition in Early Modern France* (Cambridge, 1991).

[16] Courval, *Satyre contre les charlatans*, pp. 53, 172; Breil, *La police de l'art et science de medecine*, pp. 29, 95.

[17] See for example Breil, ibid., pp. 29, 98–9. Indeed references to empirics or charlatans within these two texts are almost always followed by the qualifying '*empoisonneurs*'.

[18] Ibid., pp. 94–5.

were responsible for the damnation of the soul in addition to the perdition of the body. As Courval wrote:

> Moreover they kill & murder the bodies & very often precipitate the soul into Hell, by the prompt & sudden operation of their dangerous drugs & poisons, which sometimes do not grant the leisure & the comfort of reconciling oneself with God, & leafing through the pages of conscience, so that such poisoning Empirics lose the soul, kill the body, & ruin the worldly goods.[19]

Using an elaborate string of poisonous metaphors comparing such medical practitioners to sirens, Circes and Mercuries, Courval warned against the seductive words of those:

> whose discourse is but honey, & the effects but poison, being no less dangerous to fall asleep in the shadow of their words, than in the shadow of the Yew, the most pestiferous of all trees … In short their breath is more contagious than that of the Basilisk, & their approach similar to that of certain stones of Lycia that Pliny speaks of, that forthwith spoil & infect those that draw near. They trick us with such deceitful subtlety, & subtle deceit, that the most perceptive & the most cunning are fooled, & few escape without leaving their skin, & very often their life.[20]

According to Breil, the crimes of these medical practitioners should be punished as severely as those of the poisoner, and their works as well as their persons were best left burning on the funeral pyre.[21] Courval appealed to the nation's physicians to 'exterminate this perverse scum, & damned race of wily serpents, who with the venom & breath of their ignorance, spoil & poison the air of France, wreaking more damage, & filling more Cemeteries in one year, with their poisonous drugs, than the most dangerous plague could do in four'.[22] These charlatans and pseudo-empirics, he argued, 'are to be more greatly reprimanded & punished than cruel homicides & assassins', and it was 'necessary to perpetually banish & exile such a rabble of imposters of the nation, like dangerous & pestilential serpents'.[23] Medicine, once the most revered of arts, Courval and Breil declared, was now contaminated and corrupted by immoral practitioners promising miraculous cures.[24] The increasing number of uneducated or ill-educated individuals who set out to practise medicine with both audacity and impunity meant that all former boundaries in the practice of medicine had collapsed, causing 'such a derangement, & disorder' that it was

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19 Courval, *Satyre contre les charlatans*, p. 176.

20 Ibid., pp. 54–6.

21 Breil, *La police de l'art et science de medecine*, p. 31.

22 Courval, *Satyre contre les charlatans*, pp. 58–9.

23 Ibid., p. 83.

24 Ibid., p. 52.

no longer possible to distinguish between the 'good' and the 'bad' physician, so that 'he who is most impudently brazen, & displays the greatest solemnity, will be reputed the most skilful of all'.[25]

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the art of medicine was considered divinely inspired: 'The physician,' wrote Breil, 'is created by God.'[26] Those that erred from Galen's methodical system were thus considered religious heretics as much as medical ones.[27] For Breil and Courval, charlatan medicine wreaked havoc not only on the body's system and the ranks of medicine, but also on the order of the country as a whole. These pseudo-empirics, Breil maintained, were 'enemies of good & public peace, & of nature: who endeavour to destroy, confound, & pervert order'.[28] If those without appropriate medical training were allowed to continue to usurp the practice of medicine, 'they will be the cause of the total ruin, not only of the art & science of Medicine, but of the entire Republic'.[29] The only way to prevent the disorder of the nation was to purge the body politic of the medical offenders. In a sonnet included in the body of his text, Courval proclaimed:

> No, no; one must attempt to exterminate them, / And purge France of such a vermin, / That brings only misery & ruin to our bodies, … One must, one must expel these Empiric Executioners, / These brazen thieves, emboldened poisoners[30]

With alternative practitioners gaining greater prominence, strengthened by royal patronage, the treatises of Breil and Courval were an attempt to re-establish order, to strengthen the boundaries of what they considered legitimate medical practice and to ensure the exclusion of all those who attempted to encroach upon their territory. If, as Alison Klairmont-Lingo argued, Breil and Courval 'were attempting to identify, exclude, and dispossess [the other] of traditional powers and knowledge',[31] they did so largely through the use of poison language. By branding their opponents poisoners, Breil and Courval were effectively attempting to exclude them from the lawful practice of medicine.

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25 Breil, *La police de l'art et science de la medecine*, p. 69.

26 Ibid., p. 73.

27 Indeed the charlatans or pseudo-empirics discussed in the treatises are frequently described as 'atheist', 'impie' or 'heretic'.

28 Breil, *La police de l'art et science de medecine*, p. 42.

29 Ibid., p. 27.

30 Courval, *Satyre contre les charlatans*, p. 57.

31 Alison Klairmont Lingo, 'Empirics and charlatans in early modern France: the genesis of the classification of the "other" in medical practice', *Journal of Social History*, 19 (1986): 583–603, p. 584.

The use of poison language to define and demarcate the 'other' was not, however, limited to the medical domain; it also permeated social, religious and political debates of the early modern era. In the genuine attempts to prevent the spread of heretical doctrines, the religious dissenter was often labelled as both literally and metaphorically 'poisonous'. The equation of heresy with poison was a long-standing trope, dating from late antiquity.[32] Religious doctrines were seen as poisonous because they contaminated the soul and prevented the possibility of salvation. 'Heresies, false doctrines,' warned Furetière, 'are poisons of the soul.'[33] In the introduction to his analysis of Catholic responses to heresy in seventeenth-century France, *Le venin de l'hérésie* (1985), Dompnier evoked the prevalence of the Catholic use of poison imagery in describing the Protestant religion:

> *The Venom of Heresy*. This title imposed itself little by little during the course of the preparative work for this book, in reading the archival documents and the voluminous treatises published by the seventeenth-century ecclesiastics. This image is indeed that which the clerics prefer to all others when they wish to gather in few words their conception of Protestantism.[34]

Such imagery, he noted, was considered particularly apt, for to take on a heretical faith amounted to spiritual death: 'For them, heresy inevitably leads to death since its followers are all destined for eternal damnation. It acts perniciously, like venom, for it persuades its victims that they are in truth, while making them adopt religious and moral maxims contrary to salvation.'[35]

The venomous nature of religious heresy was such a common trope that it pervaded seventeenth-century French dictionaries. 'All Septentrion,' Furetière informed his reader, 'has been envenomed by the modern heretics; it is there that they have spread their venom the most'.[36] The poison metaphor was ideal for what were envisioned as extremely insidious beliefs. Just as subtle poisons entered the body in the guise of delicious meats, semblances of piety might easily seduce the uninformed: 'The apparent virtues of certain Heretics,' warned Furetière, 'have served as bait to have their doctrine embraced by the people, who judge only by appearances.'[37] The heretical text was duplicitous, for though seemingly harmless,

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[32] See, for example, the fourth-century writings of Epiphanius of Salamis, whose *Panarion* listed antidotes for those bitten by the serpent of heresy: *The Panarion of St. Epiphanius*, trans. Philip R. Amidon (Oxford, 1990).

[33] *Poison* in Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*.

[34] Bernard Dompnier, *Le venin de l'hérésie: image du protestantisme et combat catholique au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1985), p. 5. For poison vocabulary in sixteenth-century French religious polemics, see Claude Postel, *Traité des invectives au temps de la Réforme* (Paris, 2004).

[35] Dompnier, *Le venin*, pp. 5–6.

[36] *Envenimer* in Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*.

[37] *Amorce*, ibid.

it imparted pernicious doctrines. As Thomas Corneille noted in his *Dictionnaire des arts et des sciences* (1694), Arius 'presented to Constantine a Confession of Faith, laid out in such a deceitful manner that he concealed therein the venom of heresy beneath the simplicity of the words of Scripture.'[38] It was the devious nature of these heretical faiths that made them so dangerous for those who were vulnerable or misguided. Like venom, which 'insinuates itself through the pores', heresies, Furetière noted, 'first insinuate themselves in the minds of the people'.[39]

The notion that the beliefs of the religious heretic were poisonous was paralleled by the idea that the religious other was also physically contaminating. In her essay 'The Rites of Violence', Natalie Zemon Davis explored the strong sense of 'spiritual pollution' experienced by each side of the religious conflict, and the extent to which acts of violence during the French Wars of Religion were in fact purification rites.[40] Such notions of spiritual pollution were easily extended to accusations of physical poisoning, and throughout Europe the religious dissenter was accused of the crime. Writing of the increase in heresy in the Pragelas valley, one Jesuit author remarked: 'It is not enough that heresy has taken hold of this region, it is accompanied by several other enormous crimes; murders, poisonings and sorceries are only too common.'[41] While in 1560s Lyon Huguenots were suspected of mass poisoning through plague spreading, during popish plot scares in England Catholics were frequently labelled as poisoners;[42] if in Europe the myth of the Jewish poisoner was long established,[43] the Jesuit soon faced similar accusations.[44] 'Literally and metaphorically,' Peter Burke remarked in his article on the 'Black Legend' of the Jesuits, 'they were associated with poison. Some critics condemned what they called the "poisoned milk", "the poison of the

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[38] *Arianisme* in Thomas Corneille, *Dictionnaire des arts et des sciences* (Paris, 1694).

[39] *Venim, insinuer* in Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*.

[40] Natalie Zemon Davis, 'The Rites of Violence', in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford, 1975), pp. 156–61.

[41] *Sommaire de l'État de la religion dans la vallée de Pragelas*, cited in Dompnier, *Le venin de l'hérésie*, p. 81.

[42] For accusations of Catholic poisoning and the Jew as both poison and poisoner in early modern England, see Jonathan Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic: Discourses of Social Pathology in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 48–75, 79–106.

[43] Notably following the alleged 1321 well-poisoning conspiracy, which implicated lepers, Jews and infidels in a wide-ranging plot to turn the French nation leprous. Malcolm Barber, 'Lepers, Jews and Moslems: The Plot to Overthrow Christendom in 1321', *History*, 66 (1981): 1–17; Carlo Ginzburg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath* (London, 1990); David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1996), esp. pp. 43–68 and 91–124.

[44] Bernhard Duhr devoted several chapters to the many poison deaths and assassination conspiracies attributed to the Jesuits. Duhr, *Jesuiten-Fabeln: ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte* (Freiburg, 1904).

Ignatians", or "the poison of the Jesuitical doctrine". Others accused the order of killing Cardinal Tournon and Clement VIII by this means.'[45]

The religious deviant disseminated poisons that were at once religious and political. Religious heresy was equated with insurrection, insubordination and subversion. If one no longer swore allegiance to the head of the Church, what prevented the betrayal of the head of state, or indeed the state itself? Anti-Jesuit literature often evoked the Jesuits' allegedly excessive desire for political power, and the association of the Society of Jesus with assassination was further strengthened by the idea that several 'Jesuit' publications of the period condoned tyrannicide.[46] Writing in 1594, Pierre de Belloi maintained that 'they poison the people with this too-notorious heresy that it is permissible to kill a king not approved by the Pope, and that it is not permissible to pray to God for him.'[47] Following the Reformation, prominent members of the French nobility were increasingly turning to Calvinism, and the schism within the Church soon intersected with political schism during the French Wars of Religion. The fact that Huguenots, Jesuits and other Catholics often shared the same spheres of influence made the idea of treachery infinitely more plausible. Whereas in Protestant England it was the prevention of a popish plot that preoccupied both Elizabethans and Jacobeans, French fears ranged from the threat of Jesuit regicide to that of a pan-European Protestant alliance that might infiltrate the French nation through its Huguenot dissenters. Such fears were merely reinforced by the suspicion that religious minorities might live out their beliefs in secrecy in order to avoid persecution. If religious doctrines truly led to a pollution of the body as well as the soul, and one was unable to easily identify the possible perpetrators of such contamination, then the threat to eternal salvation was even greater and more insidious. Religious others and their dangerous doctrines, both religious and political, were as subtle and malicious as the actions of the many poisons they were accused of spreading.

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Poison metaphors and accusations were also amply employed in polemical treatises against the foreigner generally, and the Italian specifically. The virulent anti-Italianism of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France had its origins in a mix of economic, social, political and cultural factors.[48] Following the French wars

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[45] Peter Burke, 'The Black Legend of the Jesuits: An Essay in the History of Social stereotypes', in Simon Ditchfield (ed.), *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy* (Aldershot, 2001), p. 169.

[46] The most infamous of such publications was the Spanish Jesuit Juan de Mariana's *De rege et regis institutione* (1598–99).

[47] Pierre de Belloi, quoted in Georges Minois, *Le couteau et le poison: l'assassinat politique en Europe (1400–1800)* (Paris, 1997), p. 139.

[48] The anti-Italianism of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France has proved a topic of considerable interest, with works on the subject by Emile Picot, Jules Mathorez, Gabriel

in Italy, France was subjected to an ever-growing wave of Italian immigration, in which Italian physicians, craftsmen, bankers and artists crossed the Alps and established extremely successful careers in their new country.[49] The arrival of Catherine and Marie de Médicis brought an influx of Italian courtiers, financial advisors and ecclesiastics, reaching a peak during the reign of Henry III (1574–1589).[50] These Italians were not only present in large numbers, but soon came to occupy prestigious positions of influence, with privileged access to the royal party.[51] The social, financial and political success of these Italians soon led to a backlash of seditious literature, with Italians ascribed all kinds of immoral behaviour and frequently depicted as at once usurers, atheists, poisoners and sodomites. 'Italy,' Gui Patin would maintain, 'is a land of syphilis, poisonings and atheism, of Jews, of renegades and of the greatest cheats of Christianity.[52]

In addition to the obvious economic and political factors that inspired such sentiments, this virulent anti-Italianism was also a reaction against the earlier French cultural emulation of Italy and a rejection of the Italian ideal of courtiership.[53] Following the French wars in Italy, the Italian influence on style, language and manner had become increasingly evident in France. As Gabriel Maugain so eloquently put it, 'In a word, if the kings of France had dreamed of conquering Italy by arms, Italy, in fact, was pacifically conquering France.'[54] According to Lionello Sozzi, the vehement anti-Italianism of the sixteenth century was an attempt to re-establish the virtues and the prestige of the French nation: 'For sixteenth-century Frenchmen, animosity towards other peoples was, as always, a means of asserting themselves … of claiming the cultural autonomy of France, the prestige of its traditions, its hegemony on a political level.'[55]

In this flurry of anti-Italian rhetoric, the language of poison was prevalent. In literary works, as well as in polemical debates, poisoning became an Italian trait,

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Maugain, Pauline M. Smith, Lionello Sozzi and, more recently, Jean-François Dubost and Jean Balsamo.

[49] On Italian immigrants in France, see Dubost's detailed study, *La France italienne*.

[50] See ibid., p. 271 for a table of Italians present in the royal houses during the various periods from 1560 to 1672.

[51] The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw a host of Italian favourites assuming political roles of high influence, including, among others, the duc Albert de Gondi de Retz, Louis de Gonzague, duc de Nevers, René de Birague, Concino Concini and Mazarin.

[52] Patin to Falconet (undated), *Lettres de Gui Patin*, ed. J.-H. Reveillé-Parise (3 vols, Paris, 1846), vol. 3, p. 80.

[53] On the backlash against courtier culture in sixteenth-century France, see Pauline M. Smith, *The Anti-Courtier Trend in Sixteenth Century French Literature* (Geneva, 1966).

[54] Gabriel Maugain, 'L'Italie dans l'Apologie pour Hérodote', *Mélanges offerts à M. Abel Lefranc* (Paris, 1936), p. 376.

[55] Lionello Sozzi, 'La polémique anti-italienne en France au XVI^{e} siècle', *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, 106 (1972): 99–190, pp. 189–90.

and poison nothing but an Italian invention. According to popular rumour, poison first made its way to France through Catherine de Médicis' Italian entourage, which contained perfumers thoroughly versed in the art of poisoning, and courtiers more than willing to use it. For Huguenot pamphleteers poisoning in France was an entirely novel crime, the introduction of which *Le tocsain contre les massacreurs* (1579) deplored:

> For here are devices newly learned, to dexterously rid oneself by secret poison of those that the fury of an open war had not been able to attain with the glaive; things previously unknown to us, until Italy spewed us an infinite rabble of *foruscis* that this woman [Catherine de Médicis] has favoured and enriched with the treasures of France.[56]

The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572) unleashed a veritable outpouring of propaganda against Catherine de Médicis, who was branded its principal instigator.[57] Drawing on the well-established prejudice against Machiavelli, religious pamphlets accused the queen mother and her sons of Machiavellian political and religious dissembling, maintaining that the wedding celebrations of Henri de Navarre and Marguerite de Valois had merely been a pretext for assembling the most prominent Protestant leaders so as to facilitate the slaughter. The most virulent of these post-massacre pamphlets was the anonymous *Discours merveilleux de la vie, actions et déportements de Catherine de Médicis, Royne-mère* (1575).[58] This pamphlet, which deplored Catherine's depravity and enumerated her many poisoning crimes, including the attempted poisoning of three of her sons and the entire army of the Prince de Condé, was published in no fewer than 15 separate editions between 1575 and 1579, with a further 14 editions in the seventeenth century.[59] The *Discours merveilleux*'s rejection of abusive regencies and the rule of women, as well as its evocation of Frédégonde, Brunehaut and Jezebel, were themes echoed until the end of the early modern period, appearing

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[56] *Tocsain contre les massacreurs* (1579), in L. Cimber and F. Danjou (eds), *Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France depuis Louis XI jusqu'a Louis XVIII …*, 1st series (15 vols, Paris, 1835), vol. 7, p. 38.

[57] The extent of Catherine's implication in this event has been a matter of debate and has nourished the Black Legend surrounding her. See 'The Black Legend' in R.J. Knecht, *Catherine de' Medici* (New York and London, 1998), pp. xii, 163–5; N.M. Sutherland, 'Catherine de Médicis: The Legend of the Wicked Italian Queen', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 9/2 (1978): 45–56; and Robert M. Kingdon, 'The Villain: Catherine de Médicis', in *Myths about the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres 1572–1576* (Cambridge, MA, 1988), pp. 200–213.

[58] For the various attributions of this pamphlet, see the introduction in Nicole Cazauran (ed.), *Discours merveilleux de la vie, actions et déportements de Catherine de Médicis, Royne-mère* (Geneva, 1995), pp. 37–54.

[59] See Brigitte Moreau's excellent inventory, ibid., pp. 55–109.

in a flurry of pamphlets that later criticized Marie de Médicis, Anne d'Autriche and even Marie-Antoinette.[60] Writing during the regency of Anne d'Autriche of France's female regents, Oudard Coquault would exclaim, 'Women fatal to States and Medeas of kingdoms!'[61]

Poison accusations against Catherine de Médicis resurfaced during the regency of her Italian successor, Marie de Médicis, second wife of Henry IV. The 1617 *Le roy hors de page*, addressed to the queen mother Marie de Médicis, related the unnatural death of Charles IX, who, desiring to rule his country justly, had succumbed to the poisoning hands of his mother Catherine and her advisors.[62] The pamphlet represented Catherine as a pollutant of the state, a poisoning empiric who had created havoc in the hierarchy of the body politic:

> But this women, this foreigner, & unnatural mother … had at the same time perturbed all the entrails of this State, & with the help of her violent empirics corrupted all the better & more noble parts of this vast Body, & made them oppose the authority, & commandment of their head: so that by her devices, having caused her own son a great division in his Monarchy, she ruled it at her leisure with a thousand forms of subtleties.[63]

Although her third son Henry III, for once represented as a noble physician, battled to remedy France's ailments, Catherine continued to pour her subtle poisons within the state, which, spreading from member to member, would lead to the assassination of yet another son:

> This Monarch [Henry III], having commenced its healing & brought down the fever of his State, seeing its wounds half set, stopped midway, not recognising that the poison strewn within the entrails of his State was imperceptibly spreading from vein to vein, to its noble parts, … that unable to get rid of the traps that the Queen Mother had deceitfully set by the counsel of those of her nation, (& by the henchmen of her ambitious desire), he was at last treacherously assassinated.[64]

Catherine de Médicis was thus the cause of the civil unrest that France had suffered and *Le roy hors de page*, employing the voice of Louis XIII, blamed Marie de Médicis for continuing the traditions of her predecessor. The young Louis XIII admonished his mother for her pernicious influence and related the above incidents

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[60] Ibid., p. 18. For the persistent association of poison with women, see Margaret Hallissy, *Venomous Woman: Fear of the Female in Literature* (New York, 1987); and Normand, *Perceptions of Poison*, pp. 137–53.

[61] *Mémoires de Oudard Coquault, bourgeois de Reims (1649–1668)*, ed. Ch. Loriquet (2 vols, Reims, 1875), vol. 1, p. 142.

[62] *Le roy hors de page, à la royne mere* (1617), p. 4.

[63] Ibid., p. 5.

[64] Ibid., p. 7.

'to show you that Italy has been the forge, where all the sources of our misfortunes have taken shape & where all the treasons, poisons, disloyalties & acts of perfidy hatched in the bosom of my State, have been conceived, by the industrious devices of a woman of your House'.[65]

Like Catherine before her, Marie de Médicis was the subject of poison allegations and accused of wanting to poison her eldest son to put his younger brother Gaston, whom she greatly preferred, on the throne.[66] The majority of the hostile pamphlets of her regency, however, targeted her chief Italian minister, Concino Concini, the maréchal d'Ancre. For the author of *Le roy hors de page*, Concini was a poison that Marie de Médicis, in the guise of a deceptive charlatan, had fatefully administered:

> She who meddles, but in nasty Medicine, by giving corrosive potions to my State. She that *Conchines* it at all times, and renders it foul and putrid. The *Mangot* that pell-mell muddles and creates confusion. The *Barbin Barbier* (that in bleeding the large and small veins of my Kingdom) draws all the best blood to exhaust it, and so renders it languid and trembling.[67]

Concini's remarkable rise following the death of Henry IV led both to accusations of sexual dalliance with the queen regent and to rumours of his implication in the king's assassination by François Ravaillac. *Le bon Navarrois aux pieds du roy* (1615) specifically accused Concini of orchestrating Ravaillac's attack and compared the Italian minister to a corporal poison, which, as early modern poison treatises maintained, aimed for the heart:

> he had, this malicious person, through the disloyal hands that I will name, put your Father to death … wanting to act like the Eagle, which to devour its prey starts by the eyes, & like venom, which wanting to ruin & destroy the body, goes straight to its heart.[68]

When on 24 April 1617 Louis XIII authorized the assassination of Concini, an outpouring of pamphlets rejoiced at France's liberation from the Italian tyrant who had promised 'nothing less than to exterminate them all by treacheries, poisons,

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[65] Ibid., p. 8.

[66] A number of positivist histories of poison reproduced such rumours. See, for example, René Charpentier, *Les empoisonneuses: étude psychologique et médico-légale* (Paris, 1906), p. 35, n. 3; Albert Masson, *La sorcellerie et la science des poisons au XVII^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1904), p. 211. Masson devoted several chapters to Marie de Médicis' alleged poisoning crimes.

[67] *Le roy hors de page*, pp. 11–12.

[68] *Le bon Navarrois aux pieds du roy* (1615), pp. 4–5.

magic, charms or sorceries'.[69] Following his hasty burial, Concini's body was disinterred and mutilated by the populace. The ritual mutilations performed on his body were equated with the havoc his opponents claimed he had caused within the body of France.[70] In a pamphlet consisting entirely of such comparisons, the author of *La divine vengeance* (1617) proclaimed:

> He … who had infected France with the filth of corruption & foul odour of his vices: has been dismembered & put in pieces, he who wanted to dismember the body of the State, burned & consumed by flames, he who desired to burn & consume the liberty of the people by the flames of his violence, & his ashes thrown to the wind, to show the wind of his ambition, which has been reduced to ashes.[71]

The pamphlet *Sejanus françois* (1615) claimed that Henry IV had already 'resolved to purge the States, & expel this public plague [Concini]' before his untimely assassination had prevented him from doing so.[72] With Concini's assassination, Louis XIII had now accomplished what his father could not and France, *La divine vengeance* rejoiced, was finally rid of a dangerous poison which had threatened the hierarchy of its otherwise perfectly ordered body:

> [Concini] has at last been constrained to render his soul in the middle of spring in the prime of his age, he whose heart was all thorns, as if the ground could no longer bear among the agreeable flowers & beautiful Lilies that it displays during this mild season, this Cantharides & mortal poison of the Lilies of France.[73]

In death, Concini's mutilated body had become the remedy for his poisons: 'One has thus justly but nevertheless too honorably soaked the venom of his life in his blood.'[74]

The marriage of the Habsburg Anne d'Autriche to Louis XIII, negotiated by Marie de Médicis and Concini on the eve of the Thirty Years War, coincided with an increasing suspicion of Spain within France. The 1615 *Cassandre françoise* predicted the demise of the French state if the intended marriage went ahead. Comparing Anne to the ill-fated Deianara, whose jealousy had led to the unwitting

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[69] *L'enterrement, obseques et funerailles de Conchine, mareschal d'Ancre. Dedié aux Conchinistes* (Paris, 1617), pp. 4–5.

[70] For the ritual of tyrannicide in early modern France see Orest Ranum, 'The French Ritual of Tyrannicide in the Late Sixteenth Century', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 11/1 (1980): 63–82.

[71] *La divine vengeance, sur la mort du marquis d'Ancre* (Paris, 1617), p. 4.

[72] *Sejanus françois, au roi* (1615), p. 4.

[73] *La divine vengeance*, p. 8.

[74] Ibid., p. 5.

poisoning of Hercules, the pamphlet warned that only ill could come of such a marriage: 'Reject as soon as possible this Deianara,' the pamphlet implored, 'who, jealous of your wealth, will one day give you if you retain her, a shirt infected by her Spanish venom, who sterile, as is their custom, will extinguish your race within yourself'.[75] Following the early demise of Louis XIII in 1643, Anne d'Autriche took as her main political advisor the Italian cardinal Giulio Mazarini, more commonly known as Mazarin, and pamphlets soon accused her of introducing yet more venom into the French state. Indeed no minister would arouse as much vocal hatred and criticism as the unfortunate Italian cardinal, who during the Fronde civil wars (1648–1653) inspired a corpus of over 5,000 printed texts in the form of pamphlets, songs, published letters, court orders and manifestos, known collectively as the Mazarinades.[76]

Like pamphlets during the regencies of Catherine and Marie de Médicis, the Mazarinades were filled with xenophobic rhetoric. The *Raisons d'estat contre le ministère estranger* (1649) maintained that 'it is a political maxim universally accepted that Foreigners introduce the mores and vices of their country into that which they come to live, that they corrupt all things, and that from this corruption vices are born.'[77] Mazarin, who as a Sicilian was perceived as doubly foreign, had no rightful place within the French government (or indeed in the country at all). The 1649 pamphlet *Les faits pernicieux* had a 'French gentleman' warn his Sicilian companion of his unwelcome reception in France: 'Those of your lethal nation / Will no longer be welcome / Our France will detest them more / Than poison or the plague.'[78]

The Mazarinades personified Mazarin as plague and scourge, as pollution and poison. The 1649 pamphlet *La chasse à Mazarin* represented him as both a poisonous monster 'whose venomous breath / drives France to fury' and a dangerous charlatan: 'Clear off, Seigneur Jules!', the pamphlet demanded, 'Go carry your drugs elsewhere.'[79] Sandricourt's elaborate *L'accouchée espagnole* (1652) similarly related the tribulations of 'one of the most illustrious ladies of Europe' who had fallen prey to the poisonous cosmetics of a charlatan, only

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[75] *Cassandre françoise* (1615), p. 20.

[76] For the Mazarinades, see the works of Hubert Carrier, *La presse de la Fronde: les Mazarinades* (2 vols, Geneva, 1989–1991) and *Les muses guerrières: les Mazarinades et la vie littéraire au milieu du XVIIe siècle: courants, genres, culture populaire et savante à l'époque de la Fronde* (Paris, 1996), as well as Christian Jouhaud, *Mazarinades: la Fronde des mots* (Paris, 1985).

[77] *Raisons d'estat contre le ministère estranger* (1649), in Célestin Moreau (ed.), *Choix de mazarinades* (2 vols, Paris, 1853), vol. 1, p. 57.

[78] *Les faits pernicieux que le cardinal Mazarin a commis en Italie, en Espagne et particulièrement en France …* (1651), p. 5.

[79] *La chasse à Mazarin* (Paris, 1649), in *Choix de poésies politiques et satiriques du temps de la Fronde*, ed. Martin Löpelmann, Bibliotheca Romanica, nos 237–8 (Strasbourg, n.d.), pp. 104, 101.

to reveal that 'this Lady was France' and 'the Charlatan mentioned was named Jules'.[80] In her article on the Mazarinades Christine Vicherd remarked:

> Here is the designated culprit, and there is no mistake when Italians or even simply foreigners are in question, it is in truth Mazarin, that the frequently anonymous authors of the pamphlets do not hesitate to expose to trial by mob: it is certainly he who is the true 'poison' of the French.[81]

Only those able to resist such insidious poison were true '*Frondeurs*', one pamphlet explained: 'Question – Who do you name *Frondeur*? Reply – He who has the generosity of protecting himself against the plague-ridden venom that has slipped into France, that one names the venom Mazarin.'[82]

According to Hubert Carrier, who analysed the Fronde pamphlets in great depth in his monumental 'Doctorat d'Etat', the authors of the Mazarinades frequently alluded to Mazarin's poisoning activities.[83] Mazarin, Cyrano de Bergerac maintained in his *La Sybille moderne* (1649), was 'a man soiled by murders, poisonings and sacrileges'.[84] Paul Scarron reiterated such accusations in his *La Mazarinade* (1651), condemning the cardinal for having offered 'a poisoned drink / to the late President Barillon'.[85] In addition to Scarron, l'abbé Laffemas, Sandricourt and a further 20 pamphleteers openly accused Mazarin of poisoning Barillon, the duc de Bouillon and M. d'Avaux, superintendent of finances, as well as attempting to poison the duc de Beaufort.[86] The pamphlet *Les faits pernicieux* (1651) even had the young Mazarin being taught the art of secretive poisoning by his father:

> Mazarin (his father told him) / Listen, my son, to my lesson,
> Learn to make poison / Of the venomous body of a viper:

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[80] *L'accouchée espagnole, avec le Caquet des politiques, ou la Suite du 'Politique lutin, sur les maladies de l'estat', par le sieur de Sandricourt* (Paris, 1652), pp. 4, 6, 7.

[81] Christine Vicherd, 'Mazarin ou la tyrannie: le rejet des pratiques politiques "italiennes" par les Frondeurs', in Jean Serroy (ed.), *La France et l'Italie au temps de Mazarin* (Grenoble, 1986), p. 56.

[82] *Le dialogue du frondeur, ou l'usage de la Fronde, pour se préserver du venin Mazarin: divisé en quatre parties, par demandes et réponses. Première partie*, quoted in Carrier, *La presse de la Fronde: les Mazarinades*, vol. 1, p. 404.

[83] Hubert Carrier, 'Les Mazarinades, 1648–1653: contribution à l'histoire des idées, des mentalités et de la sensibilité littéraire à l'époque de la Fronde', Doctorat d'État en littérature française, Université Paris IV (1986). Microfiche (Lille 3: ARNT, 1987), p. 999.

[84] *La Sybille moderne ou l'oracle du temps* (1649), in Cyrano de Bergerac, *Mazarinades*, ed. René Briand (Paris, 1981), p. 125.

[85] Paul Scarron, *Poésies diverses*, ed. Maurice Cauchie (2 vols, Paris, 1960), vol. 1, p. 26.

[86] Hubert Carrier, 'Les Mazarinades', p. 999.

> Arsenic is too violent, / This one more feeble & slow
> Seizes the heart & slays it / And concealing the author from infamy
> The sufferer struggles in vain / He dies all pale & distraught.[87]

Like the Médicis regents and Concini before him, Mazarin represented inversion, usurpation and the displacement of power. Pamphleteers depicted the cardinal minister as a man of lowly origins who had climbed to the top by illegitimate means: 'Here is the true source of all our troubles / A crazy Italian, born of vile and base blood, / Who set about governing this deplorable State / Unjustly depriving our Princes of their rank.'[88] Such inversion in the order of things was also reflected in the multiple accusations of sodomy and sexual perversion in the Mazarinades.[89] Indeed pamphlets often alluded to Mazarin's sexual depravity, claiming that he had reached the upper echelons of power solely through unnatural sexual acts. With France wracked by civil unrest and financial dearth, numerous pamphlets blamed these troubles on the presence of this foreign minister. The pamphlet *Recit et veritables sentimens sur les affaires du temps* urged the French to re-establish order within the French political body, rather than waste time waging war against foreign nations: 'My France, what are you doing? / You are betraying yourself / Seek your enemy within your own body / Consider so as to save yourself from this extreme misfortune / To bring order within and not without.'[90] As the pamphlet *Sejanus françois* had urged of Concini, pamphlets such as *Le mauvais succez de l'Espion de Mazarin* (1649) continued to proclaim that 'the world must be purged of such a plague of Italians' and France liberated from the Italian poison that was Mazarin.[91]

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Authors in the early modern period wrote of poisons that were in many respects unknowable. There were subtle poisons that had no colour, no odour and no real shape; in the form of the 'white powder' of the Borgias or the occult poisons of medical treatises, they often had no remedy. Deceptive and illicit, transparent and mutable, such poisons became part of whatever item they were placed in, including the human body. Within the confines of the body, poison was at once integral and separate. It was this liminal and perverse nature that rendered the idea

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87 *Les faits pernicieux*, p. 17.

88 *Recit et veritables sentimens sur les affaires du temps*, in Tamizey de Larroque (ed.), *Mazarinades inconnues* (Paris, 1879), p. 79.

89 On the use of sexual polemics during the Fronde, see Jeffrey Merrick, 'The Cardinal and the Queen: Sexual and Political Disorders in the Mazarinades', *French Historical Studies*, 18/3 (spring 1994): 667–99.

90 *Recit et veritables sentimens*, p. 78.

91 *Le mauvais succez de l'espion de Mazarin envoyé à l'archiduc Leopold, pour se sauver en Flandre* (Paris, 1649), p. 5.

of poison so profoundly abject. Writing of the notion of abjection in her *Pouvoirs de l'horreur*, Julia Kristeva emphasized:

> It is thus not the absence of cleanliness or of health that renders abject, but that which disturbs an identity, a system, an order. That which does not respect limits, placements, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous, the composite.[92]

Like abject poisons, the groups and individuals identified as poisonous were often imagined as both integral and separate. Although ostensibly French subjects, they were portrayed as unassimilable members of the body politic who had usurped the station of others. Early modern regents appropriated the role of kings and, during their regency, played a part they were not born to fulfil. As Italians and Spaniards, these female regents belonged to a foreign nation; as regents, they claimed to be ruling in the interests of France. Like mutable poisons and the deceitful poisoner, those associated with poison were accused of duplicity and subterfuge: the 'charlatan' abused royal patronage to promote his poisonous remedies; the libertine enticed his listeners with pleasurable poisons; the heretic couched his pernicious doctrine in seemingly pious texts.

In modern writings about witchcraft and poison accusations, it is often suggested that they were directed against the marginal and the dispossessed; it is equally apparent that they were employed against those who appeared to possess too much. Accusations of poison were often voiced against those who had stepped outside their designated role, defying established boundaries, or whose privileges were regarded as suspect – whether foreigners, religious others and women in positions of political power, or charlatans, Paracelsian physicians and actors enjoying royal patronage. As traditional medical, religious and political orthodoxy was challenged in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by new religious confessions, alternative medical practitioners and increasingly influential Italian immigrants, the language of poison became even more prominent. Pamphlets consciously drew on medical images of poison in the body; the French nation was personified and the invader rendered poisonous. The early modern body was imagined as a hierarchical system whose organs were ordered and interdependent. Once within the body, poison disrupted this highly organized system, corrupting its fluids and transforming the body's members into its own warriors. Poisons in the body politic were guilty of the same. Italian courtiers were depicted as foreign intruders who had seized the positions of the French aristocracy, placing their seed within royal bloodlines, thereby polluting the French nation; Calvinists increasingly infiltrated the French nobility; Paracelsians attempted to convert the royal court. The cosmological vision of early modern France meant that deviance and disruption were often perceived as having greater repercussions than in their immediate domain, and the displacement of traditional rights would eventually bring retribution in the form of economic dearth, famine and civil war.

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[92] Julia Kristeva, *Pouvoirs de l'horreur* (Paris, 1980), p. 12.

In the rhetoric of early modern France the poisonous was often that which did not belong, that which transgressed social boundaries, that which corrupted social order. The religious, moral, social and sexual dissidents of early modern France were often portrayed by their opponents as societal poisons, who through their very presence would infect the rest of the moral community. For authors of poison treatises, poison was an invader in the body and the poisoner an invader of the body politic. Conversely, in the polemical writings of orthodox French Catholics, the invader of the body politic – the foreigner, the heretic, the charlatan, the libertine – became the poisoner. The breakdown of order that such intruders induced would inevitably lead to even greater social, moral and political disintegration. If, as poison authors suggested, the only remedy for potent poisons was their immediate elimination from the body, the only means of preventing societal collapse was the immediate expulsion of the offending parties from the body politic. Like the circle of Dittany of Crete, which revealed and destroyed the venomous woman it encompassed, the naming as poison allowed for the circumscription and neutralization of perceived agents of contagious disruption. From medical heretics to sexual deviants, from social others to religious dissenters, the language of poison in early modern France sought to define, to contain and ultimately to expel the dissident, the deviant and the heretic, whose place was well outside the body politic.

Chapter 6
War and Polemics in Early Modern Europe

Pärtel Piirimäe

I

The mainstream view among scholars of the history of international law and international relations is that morality did not matter in the early modern international world. In the seventeenth century, these scholars argue, the traditional substantive criteria of 'just war' (the existence of just material cause and just intentions) were replaced by normative thinkers, such as the Spanish neo-scholastic Francisco Suárez or the Dutch legal scholar Hugo Grotius, with purely formal criteria. These formal criteria required only that war was waged by sovereign authority. Thus, according to this view, war became an 'instrument of statecraft' which the sovereigns could use at their will for settling disputes and achieving their political aims.[1]

Such a 'realist' reading of normative theories, which I will call the 'Schmittian view' after its first proponent Carl Schmitt,[2] poses a real problem for a historian engaged in the study of early modern political culture, in particular one focusing on the history of printing and the formation of the public sphere. This historian could not escape noticing that early modern Europeans witnessed a steep increase in the intensity of public debates during major wars.[3] Not only were the populations

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[1] This view has been put forward most forcefully by German scholars Heinz Duchhardt, 'War and International Law in Europe: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries', in Philippe Contamine (ed.), *War and Competition Between States* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 279–99, esp. p. 285; and Fritz Dickmann, *Friedensrecht und Friedenssicherung* (Göttingen, 1971), pp. 128–30. But its advocates also include Michael Behnen, 'Der gerechte und der notwendige Krieg. "Necessitas" und "Utilitas reipublicae" in der Kriegstheorie des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts', in Johannes Kunisch (ed.), *Staatsverfassung und Heeresverfassung in der europäischen Geschichte der frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin, 1986), pp. 43–106, at p. 65; James Turner Johnson, *Ideology, Reason and Limitation of War: Religious and Secular Concepts, 1200–1740* (Princeton, 1975), p. 231; Bernd Klesmann, *Bellum solemne*: *Formen und Funktionen europäischer Kriegserklärungen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Mainz, 2007); Johannes Kunisch, 'Der Nordische Krieg von 1655–1660 als Parabel frühneuzeitlicher Staatenkonflikte', in Heinz Duchhardt (ed.), *Rahmenbedingungen und Handlungsspielräume europäischer Außenpolitik im Zeitalter Ludwigs XIV* (Berlin, 1991), pp. 9–42; Stephen C. Neff, *War and the Law of Nations: A General History* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 85.

[2] Carl Schmitt, *Die Wendung zum diskriminierenden Kriegsbegriff* (Munich, 1938).

[3] See Johannes Haller, *Die deutsche Publizistik in den Jahren 1668–1674: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Raubkriege Ludwigs XIV* (Heidelberg, 1892); Joseph Klaits, *Printed*

of warring states inundated with printed and spoken propaganda, but the printed materials were also translated and distributed abroad, or written specifically for foreign audiences. The Swedish government, for example, issued the manifesto that justified its intervention in the Thirty Years War in five languages and in at least 25 different editions. The Danish manifesto that accused Sweden of aggression in 1644 appeared in at least 19 editions.

All these propagandistic efforts were ultimately concerned with justice. There were publications that directly dealt with the issue of justice, such as declarations and manifestos issued by sovereigns that demonstrated that they had ample reasons to go to war. There were pamphlets that blamed the enemy for violating the rules of Christian warfare and waging war in a barbaric manner; there were pamphlets published after a few years of fighting, urging peace and blaming the enemy for being an obstacle to achieving it. But there were also battle accounts, eulogies to kings, funeral orations and thanksgiving prayers that glorified the achievements of one's own side and belittled those of the other. Their aim was, in general terms, to construct a success story and thus demonstrate to the world that God was on their side – which was, of course, an indication that justice too was on their side.

Now a historian who reads both such publications and the prevailing Schmittian interpretation of contemporary normative views will be really baffled at the discrepancy between them. Should we take the propagandistic efforts as a rhetorical game which politicians played out of habit while at the same time acknowledging the unrestricted right of a sovereign to go to war to defend what he perceived to be the interest of his state? Or should we attempt to solve the apparent conflict by arguing that there was indeed a deep gulf between theorists such as Hugo Grotius, who were more 'advanced' or 'modern' in their thinking, and the rest of the population, including rulers and politicians who still believed in 'outdated' values?

I do not think we need to construct such explanations because the solution to the apparent puzzle is much simpler: the Schmittian interpretation is incorrect. The main aim of this chapter is to demonstrate that morality did matter in early modern international relations. I will do this not merely by scrutinizing yet again the few sentences by early modern theorists quoted by scholars in the Schmittian tradition, because I believe the main reason they got their interpretation wrong is that they studied normative views on an extremely narrow basis, taking the texts of a few theorists to represent *the* early modern attitude to morality. Instead, I will study a range of additional sources which offer insight into the contemporary beliefs of wider sections of society than the theoretical treatises alone. These sources are

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Propaganda under Louis XIV (Princeton, 1976); Rudolf Meyer, *Die Flugschriften der Epoche Ludwigs XIV* (Basle and Stuttgart, 1955); Emanuel Münzer, 'Die brandenburgische Publizistik unter dem Großen Kurfürsten', *Märkische Forschungen*, 18 (1884): 223–88; Hans von Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, *Die öffentliche Meinung in Deutschland im Zeitalter Ludwigs XIV, 1650–1700: ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der deutschen Flugschriften-Litteratur* (Stuttgart, 1888).

mainly provided by the polemical debates on the justice of particular wars. I suggest that, when after such a broad study we look again at the utterances of theorists such as Suárez or Grotius, we must recognize that they agreed fundamentally with mainstream contemporary views on the most vital issues, and the statements which seem to be in conflict with them have been simply taken out of context.

II

The issues concerning the justice of a planned war played a vital role both in the domestic discussions and the diplomatic correspondence in early modern Europe. Picking out Sweden – a particularly bellicose state throughout the seventeenth century – as a case study, we see that its rulers and their advisors were well aware that before they went to war, they had to think not only of their own consciences but also of the impact their actions might have on the reputation of their state in Europe. Swedish statesmen expressed this double concern in 1643 when the State Council, which ruled the country alongside the monarch, debated the justifiability of their planned war against Denmark. Councillor Johan Skytte urged that before taking the final decision to start a war they should attempt a peaceful solution 'in order to satisfy our conscience in full'.[4] At the same time the members of the Council pointed out the need to think of the reputation of the state, which would be damaged both by not reacting to ostensible injuries and by waging a war without being able to justify it 'to the world'.[5]

The very fact that they referred to the 'reputation of states' proves the existence of a supranational public sphere which formed opinions about the behaviour of rulers, because, as Andreas Gestrich has pointedly remarked, 'reputation and honour do not exist in secret'.[6] The Swedes, like the other nations of Christian Europe, not only needed to *be* 'good Christians' for their salvation, but wanted to *appear* as such in the eyes of the rest of Europe. The Swedes' concern is mocked, for example, in a 1679 pamphlet that argued that despite having breached 'every single pact of friendship' they still wished to be considered as 'honest, good and pious Christians'.[7] The Steward of the Realm, Per Brahe, summarized the concern for salvation and reputation in a debate in 1654 by declaring 'it is good to have a rightful cause, for the sake of conscience, God and the other nations'.[8]

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[4] *Svenska riksrådets protokoll* (henceforth *SRP*, 18 vols, Stockholm, 1878–1959), vol. 10, p. 331. All translations are my own unless otherwise specified.

[5] On the need for justification 'to the world', see *SRP*, vol. 10, pp. 218, 243. The reference to reputation is ibid., p. 141; cf. pp. 134, 428.

[6] Andreas Gestrich, *Absolutismus und Öffentlichkeit. Politische Kommunikation in Deutschland zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1994), p. 79.

[7] Schwedischer Spiegel, *Worinnen Nicht allein der Schweden Treulosigkeit klärlich zu ersehen und bewiesen …* (n.p., 1679), p. 3.

[8] *SRP*, vol. 16, p. 13.

The documents also suggest that neutrals were expected to assist only the just side in any war. Thus the Elector of Brandenburg recommended in 1700 that the King of Denmark should abstain from war against Sweden. He wrote that 'this way His Majesty can avoid the detestable name of aggression. It is well known to His Majesty what depends on it: the justice of war secures the support of God, and attracts the favour of Heaven and of people.'[9] Many pamphlets were more specific. For example, the Danish *Manifesto* of 1644 calls upon the neighbouring princes to reconsider their security in the context of the Swedish threat, and upon Sweden's allies not to support it, because 'ad injusta bella nulla est obligatio'.[10] The validity of this principle is confirmed by the attitude of the Netherlands, allies of Sweden, whose ambassador De Witt protested to the Swedes that for 'causa foederis' a peaceful solution should have been attempted first.[11] Military alliances were usually forged with the explicit or implicit proviso that they should apply only to situations when the ally was attacked directly or sufficiently injured as to warrant a war.[12] Hence it was important to convince not only potential allies but also existing ones that war was waged for a just cause.

The rule that one should abstain from assisting an unjust cause was not only applicable to states but also to private individuals who sought employment with foreign potentates. This argument is presented in a pro-Swedish pamphlet written by a German preacher in 1657 on the occasion of the Polish war. The author contends that officers must not serve a foreign ruler unless they are sure there is 'causa belli legitima'. If this exists, a soldier is an 'executor justitiae'; otherwise he is a murderer.[13] This argument reflects the common understanding that one was morally culpable for fighting for an unjust side.

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[9] Published in *Theatrum Europaeum* (21 vols, Frankfurt am Main, 1635–1738), vol. 15, p. 749.

[10] Ibid., vol. 5, p. 228. A pamphlet from the Polish–Swedish war 1655–1660, which defends Danzig's assistance to the king of Poland against Sweden, argues that those who support Sweden in its unjust war 'commit a grave sin'. *Copia Eines Send-Schreibens/ Darinn die Frage erörtert wird/ Ob Evangelische Stände der Augspurgischen Confession ... von ihrem Herrn abfallen/ oder ihm alle Hülffe versagen sollen ...* (n.p., 1657), ch. 4.

[11] Conference of Dutch ambassadors and members of the Swedish State Council on 23 August 1644, *SRP*, vol. 10, p. 616.

[12] Often the obligation of assistance was restricted to cases when the partner fell victim to an act of aggression (in contemporary language no 'general guarantee' was offered). For example, this was the stipulation of the Rhein Alliance concluded in 1657 between Sweden and a number of German territories. See Georg Landberg, *Den svenska utrikenspolitikens* historia*, 1648–1697* (Stockholm, 1952), vol. 1, part 3, p. 113. Cf. the similar principle in the defensive triple league of 1698 between Great Britain, the Netherlands and Sweden, in Clive Parry (ed.), *The Consolidated Treaty Series* (231 vols, Dobbs Ferry, 1969–1981), vol. 22, p. 151. An example of an alliance which alluded also to 'just' aggression is the Danish–Russian treaty of 1699, ibid., vol. 22, p. 357.

[13] [Johann Balthasar Schupp], *Ambrosii Mellilambii Send-Schreiben/ An einen Vornehmen Cavallier ...* (n.p., 1657), fol. A.

The view of the Schmittian tradition – that due to the formal equality of the parties in war the moral issues of justice did not arise at peace negotiations – is also not correct.[14] Peace treaties, indeed, refrained from attributing blame for war. This was not because moral issues did not matter, but rather because no sovereign could have accepted the verdict of not having obeyed the essential duties of a Christian ruler. It is also true that in the end the conditions of peace were imposed by the winning side, no matter on whose side justice lay. But in the course of peace negotiations, the demands were often framed in a moral language which referred to the causes of the war. Thus Swedish demands for *satisfactio* in the Thirty Years War were ultimately grounded on their fighting on the 'just' side in the war.[15] In similar vein, when the Great Northern War was about to break out, Swedish politicians were not entirely unhappy about the prospect of falling victim to an act of aggression, as it would enable them to demand satisfaction if they managed to repel it successfully.[16] When the Swedes indeed succeeded in defeating the King of Poland in 1706 and were about to invade his Electorate of Saxony, they sent a memorandum to the ministers of the maritime powers which justified the planned occupation by their right to seek satisfaction from the aggressor. The memorandum insists on the duty of neutrals and allies of the Elector to assist Sweden in its rightful cause, and points out that any disruption the Swedish troops may cause in the empire is the fault of the Elector, who 'through his unjust aggression drew their just arms into his state'.[17]

The crucial practical significance of international legitimations can be observed in the frantic diplomatic activities that were triggered by the Swedish attack on Denmark in July 1658. Only in February, these two countries had concluded a peace treaty at Roskilde, which settled the war Denmark had initiated in 1657. Now Sweden, originally the victim of an attack, became an aggressor. The astonishment in the European courts at the breach of a peace which had been concluded only half a year earlier is expressed well in the letters from George Downing, the English resident at The Hague, to Secretary of State John Thurloe. On 17 August, Downing reports the 'great and unexpected newes' of the king of Sweden's attack on Denmark, as a result of which 'all men are heere in a great amaisement, not knowing what to say, or hardly what to think'.[18]

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[14] See Neff, *War and the Law of Nations*, p. 118.

[15] On Sweden's war demands, see Sigmund Goetze, *Die Politik des schwedischen Reichskanzlers Axel Oxenstierna gegenüber Kaiser und Reich* (Kiel, 1971), pp. 203–9.

[16] On Swedish speculations about satisfaction, see Ragnhild Hatton, *Charles XII of Sweden* (London, 1968), pp. 126–7.

[17] 'Considerations sur la Satisfaction, que le Roi de Suede est en droit de prendre dans l'Electorat de Saxe, pour raison de l'Invasion de la Livonie, faite par des Troupes Saxonnes', in Guillaume de Lamberty, *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire du XVIII siècle …* (14 vols, 2nd edn, Amsterdam, 1735–1740), vol. 6, p. 256.

[18] John Thurloe, *A Collection of the State Papers* (7 vols, London, 1742), vol. 7, p. 338.

The Swedes had been negotiating with the English for an alliance and hoped that England would assist them in this new war. The Swedish king Charles Gustav was aware that the news of the unexpected attack might jeopardize this aim and on 8 August sent a special envoy to the Lord Protector with a letter that explained the reasons for the attack and implored Cromwell to assist him.[19] The English government had in fact learned about the attack before the Swedish envoy arrived, and the news had indeed – just as the king feared – aroused strong discontent among some of its members.[20] The alliance negotiations broke off. Nevertheless the English were prepared to help Sweden diplomatically by attempting to persuade the Dutch not to give military assistance to Denmark. Denmark and the Netherlands had concluded a defensive alliance a few years earlier, and the Danes immediately asked the Dutch for assistance according to the stipulations of the alliance treaty.

The diplomatic intervention by the English resident in The Hague was seriously hampered, as his letters attest, by the lack of a Swedish manifesto which could offer a proper explanation for this war. George Downing was in daily contact with the Swedish agent in The Hague, Harald Appelboom, who himself appears to have been kept in the dark about the designs and motivation of his king. On 29 August Downing writes to Thurloe:

> Mr Applebom [*sic*] hath received nothing as yet from his king, nor is there any manifesto as yet published, that we know of; so that all men are in amazement at this action beyond imagination; and it may well be supposed, that the enemies of the king of S[weden] are not sparing in their language against him upon such occasion.[21]

Downing points out that the enemies are fuelled by the 'ugly aspect' of the story, namely that the stipulations of the Roskilde treaty were fulfilled by the Danes but not by the Swedes.[22] On 2 September Downing expresses his belief that the existence of an official legitimation could have enabled him to persuade the States General not to take the decision to join the war on the Danish side. He complains again that Appelboom has not received a royal letter, nor has any official manifesto been published:

> [W]hat advantage it gives to the enemies of the king of Sweden is easy to conjecture … The states of Holland have resolved to assist the king of Denmarke according to their treaty with him … indeed even this resolution of the states

[19] Ibid., p. 342. The envoy Barckmann presented the explanation to the new Protector, Richard Cromwell, as Oliver had died on 3 September. Torsten Gihl, *Sverige och västmakterna under Karl X Gustafs andra krig med Danmark* (Uppsala, 1913), p. 78.

[20] Gihl, *Sverige och västmakterna*, p. 62.

[21] Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. 7, p. 344.

[22] Ibid.

> of Holland might have been hindred at least for a considerable time, if the king of Sweden had but done soe much as but written one word or two to Mr. Appleboom, declaring the grounds of this his undertaking; or onely saying, that he had good grounds, and that he would declare them. But as the busines stands, though all this preparation is here makeing, he speaks not a word in defence of his master, though the consequences of what is now doeing may be very greate; and I can assure you, that the ministers of the emperor, Poland, Brandenburg, and all their friends, doe keep holyday at that business; and the king of Sweden declaring nothing, they make bold to declare sufficiently against him.[23]

Thus Downing suggests that the failure to provide a legitimation had 'great consequences' for Sweden's diplomatic standing. The Swedes had undermined their reputation to such an extent that, as Downing reports a few days later, 'no man almost dares now name a Swede at Amsterdam, except with indignation'.[24] In the eyes of this acute observer, the absence of 'good grounds' hindered Sweden's potential allies from providing help, and encouraged its enemies to join in a concerted effort against it. It is hard to judge precisely to what extent the Swedish propaganda fiasco contributed to their diplomatic isolation, which eventually led to the failure of their military campaign. But the evidence cited here strongly suggests that Swedish failure to take the 'war of the pen' seriously could well have affected the result of the 'war of the sword'.

III

The wars of the pen appealed to the normative beliefs of pan-European audiences. The question to be asked next is 'Who were the individuals or groups whose opinions or actions were to be influenced by such propaganda?'[25] The story of 1658 demonstrates how important it was to address the political decision-makers of potential allies and enemies. In some countries this group might have been quite large, for example England, the Netherlands, Poland or some German territories where the representative institutions played a major role. Yet when one looks at the number of printed copies of official declarations, one is tempted to think that this propaganda reached far larger sections of society than merely those belonging to

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[23] Ibid., p. 352.

[24] Downing to Thurloe on 6 September, ibid., p. 359.

[25] Here I use Harold Lasswell's neutral definition of propaganda: 'Propaganda is the expression of opinions or actions carried out deliberately by individuals or groups with a view to influencing the opinions or actions of other individuals or groups for predetermined ends and through psychological manipulations.' Quoted from Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes* (New York, 1973), p. ix. For a criticism of the alternative view that equates propaganda with lies, see A.P. Foulkes, *Literature and Propaganda* (London, New York, 2003).

these institutions. Assuming that the average print run in the seventeenth century was between 1,000 and 1,500,[26] the Swedish manifesto of 1630 with its 25 editions may have had in total between 25,000 and 37,000 copies; and the Danish manifesto of 1644 with 19 editions may have had between 19,000 and 28,000 copies.

Admittedly it is dangerous to make assumptions about the breadth of readership from print runs alone. While we can generally assume that a new edition was printed only after the previous one had been sold or distributed, it might have happened that large piles were stored somewhere and later destroyed. A drastic example of a miscalculation of the market comes from early eighteenth-century Russia, where in 1716 Peter the Great – who was closely involved in overseeing printing in his state[27] – ordered 20,000 copies of *A Discourse Concerning the Just Reasons*, which justified Russia's attack on Sweden in 1700. Out of this total 16,000 were still unsold 40 years later.[28] It is, of course, also a well known fact that the number of buyers does not indicate the number of readers. In early modern Europe it was usual for many people to read or listen to the same copy. On the other hand, some people acquired publications that they never read.[29]

However, in addition to the quantitative data there is a lot of evidence of public demand for information about the motives of warring parties. Since wars had a greater impact on the everyday life of people than perhaps any other instance of the exercise of political power, they triggered public hunger for information about both their course and their reasons. This presented governments with a choice between secrecy and publicity, which Peter Burke has called 'the conservative's dilemma'.[30] Ideally, governments would have liked to exclude commoners from any discussion of matters of state. Generally in seventeenth-century Europe subjects were not expected to censure their rulers' policies. As the English arch-conservative Robert Filmer put it, they were not supposed 'to meddle with mysteries of the present state'.[31] The sphere of 'arcana imperii' was considered beyond the comprehension

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[26] I follow here the calculations by Konrad Repgen, 'Der Westfälische Friede und die Ursprünge des europäischen Gleichgewichts', in Repgen, *Von der Reformation zur Gegenwart* (Paderborn, 1988), pp. 79–80.

[27] Gary Marker, *Publishing, Printing and the Origins of Intellectual Life in Russia* (Princeton, 1985), p. 22 ff.

[28] Cf. my analysis of this pamphlet in Pärtel Piirimäe, 'Russia, the Turks and Europe: Legitimations of War and the Formation of European Identity in the Early Modern Period', *Journal of Early Modern History. Contacts, Comparisons, Contrasts*, 11 (2007): 63–86.

[29] While working in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, I was forced to cut open pamphlets that have lain there unread for 350 years.

[30] Asa Briggs and Peter Burke, *A Social History of the Media* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 81. Filippo de Vivo offers a thorough analysis of such a dilemma in his study on the propaganda battles during the Venetian interdict, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford, 2007).

[31] Sir Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha and Other Writings*, ed. Johann P. Sommerville (Cambridge, 1991), ch. I, p. 3.

and judgement of the common man. An official pamphlet from 1610, for example, explained why John Sigismund, the Elector of Brandenburg, had not until then published anything with regard to an ongoing territorial dispute:

> His Electoral Highness does not think it would enhance his reputation to publish on the rights which great lords suppose they have over some lands … His Electoral Highness can never conclude that it could be reputable for a great lord when the common rabble, shopkeepers, craftsmen and often the peasants in villages who out of curiosity buy most of the newspapers and new publications and read them like nuns read their Psalters, understanding perhaps a tenth of the text … and then … in inns and at meetings examine such claimed rights of great lords and know so much as to gossip and chat about them, so that anyone who happens to hear will have sore ears.[32]

But the obvious problem was that this hunger for information was readily satisfied by independent authors, printers and booksellers who attempted to cash in on the increased public interest in current affairs. They invented a variety of genres that addressed this section of the market. Thus during the seventeenth-century wars Germany was flooded with all kinds of popular polemical pamphlets published in the vernacular. Typical popular genres were fictional 'letters to a friend',[33] 'overheard' conversations between soldiers or peasants in bars or other public places,[34] fictional 'intercepted letters'[35] or 'secret information' which revealed

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[32] *Kurtze anzeig derer Uhrsachen/ Welche ... Herrn Iohann Sigismunden Marggraffen zu Brandenburg/ ... Bewogen/ das Ihre Churf. Gn. biß daher/ nichts/ von ihrem habendem Rechten an den Gülischen Fürstenthümen unnd Landen/ wie wohl von andern geschehen/ deduciren, herrausser kommen/ oder durch den offenen Druck publiciren lassen ...* (Berlin, 1609).

[33] E.g. *Copia Schreibens Eines vornehmen Schwedischen vom Adel An Einen Fränckischen vom Adel ...* (Frankfurt am Main, 1644); *Epistola Amici Ad Amicum De Caussis renascentium dissidiorum Sueco-Danicorum* [dated Hamburg, 11 Aug 1658]; *A Letter Writen from Hambourgh, by an impartial hand, To a Friend at London. Whereby the several Mistakes, and Sinister Allegations, in the Swedish Relation, Printed at London, are laid open, and published for the Satisfaction of such as desire to be rightly informed* [dated Hamburg, 15 December 1658]; [Bartholomäus Franck], *Alitophili ad Censorinum Epistola, Qua Justitia Armorum Brandenburgicorum ... impugnata adseritur* [n.p., dated 7 November 1674].

[34] E.g. *Ein vertrawlich Gesprech Von Schwedischen Einfall in Hollstein und Dennemarck/ etc. Zweyer Schwedischen Soldaten ...* (n.p., 1644); *Discurs Zwischen einem Hollander und einem Dennemarcker, Uber den zustant dieser gegenwertigen Zeit* (n.p., 1657); *Dialogue Betwixt Two Friends, Valentius of Frieland And Ernest Friedman ...* (n.p., 1675).

[35] E.g. *Bref, Hwilket Kongen i Danmark/ sin förtrogne Wän och Confident, Konungen i Spanien tilskrifwit hafwer/ beklagandes sigh öfwer the Swenskas Krijgh och Victorier* (n.p., [1644]); *Königliches Schwedisches/ an den Feldmarschalck Douglas angefertigtes/*

the inner workings of a government.[36] It seems that once governments started to inform the elites, it was impossible for them to restrict the flow of information to lower sections of the society. Therefore governments had to prevent the danger of opinions being formed on the basis of information provided by their opponents. This meant that in addition to attempts to control the flow of information through censorship, states made an effort to steer public debate by providing suitable information to the wider public. In order to prevent occasional polemical brochures dominating the news market governments supported the establishment of newspapers and news journals, which were easier to control.[37] Intentionally or not, such activities expanded public interest in political issues and intensified contact between governments and subjects, thus contributing to the formation of the public sphere in Europe.[38]

In addition to the control of news, governments also took part in the game of polemical table tennis at this lower level of popular pamphlets. The use of so-called 'private texts' gave them the opportunity to emphasize the dishonourable motives of their opponents, pointing at their jealousy, ambition and 'cupiditas dominandi'– or at their evil, Machiavellian 'reason of state'.[39] It was impossible to publish these kinds of arguments officially as such affronts would have been an obstacle to peace in the future. But they were still handy for influencing the opinions of foreign populations, particularly considering that people would look anyway for hidden motives behind the official, legal argumentation. During the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) the French, for example, discussed the most suitable means to respond to the imperial ambassador Trautmannsdorff's pamphlets. Rather than providing an official answer, they decided to use a 'private' genre and employed Jean de la Chapelle to do the job. La Chapelle mercilessly mocked Trautmannsdorff in his anonymous *Lettres d'un Suisse*. But in order to give the impression that the government had nothing to do with the

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Schreiben ... Welches unter andern in einem nach Rige gehendem/ und zu Kopenhagen aufgebrachtem Schiffe gefunden ... (Copenhagen, 1658).

[36] E.g. *Catholischer Kriegs-Raht de Tempore, Oder Schreiben eines Vornemen Catholischen Raths/ nach der Leiptzigischen Schlacht/ an Ihre Päpstl. Heiligkeit ergangen ...* (Bratislava, 1631); *Project Der eröffneten Schwedischen Rath-Stuben ...* (n.p., 1675).

[37] In Germany the first discursive news journals were founded in the 1670s. Andreas Gestrich, 'Krieg und Öffentlichkeit in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts', in A. Giebmeyer and H. Schnabel-Schüle (eds), *'Das wichtigste ist der Mensch'. Festschrift für Klaus Gerteis zum 60. Geburtstag* (Mainz, 2000), pp. 21–36.

[38] Ibid., p. 23.

[39] E.g. *Copia Schreibens Eines vornehmen Schwedischen vom Adel (as in note 32); Rossomalza, Das ist: Der Schwedische Vielfraß ...* (n.p., 1644); *Ecclipsis, Der Elbingschen Beleuchtigung über die Antwort Andreae Nicanoris Auff des Cyriaci Trasymachi Epistel/ Von Ungerechtigkeit der Schwedischen Waffen/ Wider das Königreich Pohlen* (n.p., 1656); *Copia Eines Send-Schreibens* (as in note 10).

production of these pamphlets, the French cleverly put them on their annual list of prohibited works.[40]

It is not surprising that the use of private genres caused a lot of bad blood between countries. Opponents were often reproached for using private texts in their propaganda.[41] Even in war a certain degree of respect was expected from the enemy, and one could plausibly expect that public pamphlets would generally be more respectful. However, even the use of a public genre gave no guarantee that the argument would be respectful enough. It was common to blame the enemy for using in its public texts language and arguments suitable for 'privati scripti'. It was impossible to determine the boundaries of respectful language, and propagandists often denounced relatively modest texts as 'pasquills' or 'defamatory libels'. In 1657 the king of Sweden, Charles Gustav, after receiving an official declaration issued by the king of Denmark, wrote to the Electors of the Holy Roman Empire that 'we were amazed not so much about the title or the reasons given in this text, but about the formula common to pasquillants, and totally unsuitable to a king and Christian ruler'.[42] Later, during the same war, a Swedish pamphlet calls Danish official manifestos 'venemous [*sic*] Papers … which, if the sacred persons of Kings were not concerned in them, might justly pass for defamatory invectives and notorious libels'.[43] Similarly, Sweden's adversaries blamed Sweden for a lack of respect in their propaganda. Thus Peter Shafirov claims in his *Discourse* (1716) that Sweden's manifestos and universalia 'were filled with Calumnies tending not only to the defaming, affronting and reviling of his Czarish Majesty's own high Person and the whole Russian Nation, but also to stir up his Majesty's Subjects to rebellion'.[44]

The polemical battles themselves were thus subjected to diplomatic negotiations. First of all, states used diplomatic means to stop the production and distribution in other states of publications which they considered defamatory. In 1675 the Swedish ambassador in Poland, Anders Lilliehöök, took action against a bookseller in Danzig for holding in his stock four pro-Brandenburg pamphlets which all blamed Sweden for waging an unjust war.[45] The town magistrates were accommodating, placing the bookseller under arrest and prohibiting him from

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[40] Klaits, *Printed Propaganda*, pp. 123–5.

[41] E.g. Samuel von Pufendorf's critique of 'Schmächschriften' in his anonymously printed *Beleuchtigung und Wiederlegung einiger Brandenburgischen Schrifften* ... (n.p., 1676), Foreword.

[42] *Schreiben der Königlichen Majestät in Sueden, An den Chur-Fürsten zu Mainz* [dated Stettin, 7 July 1657].

[43] *An Answer To Tvvo Danish Papers* ... (London, 1658).

[44] P.P. Shafirov, *A discourse concerning the just causes of the war Between Sweden and Russia*, ed. William E. Butler (Dobbs Ferry, 1973), p. 238. Cf. pp. 259, 325, 328.

[45] They included *Examen Literarum Svecicarum* ... (n.p., 1675); *Motus Animorum Circa Motum armorum Svecicorum in Germaniam* ... (n.p., 1675); *Teutschlandes warhafftes Interesse Bey jetzigen Conjoncturen* ... (n.p., 1675).

selling the pamphlets. When Lilliehöök demanded that the texts be publicly burned, the magistrates argued that one of the pamphlets had even been republished in *Diarium Europaeum*, a well-established survey of contemporary affairs. Lilliehöök answered that 'both *Theatrum* and *Diarium Europaeum* have so often taken lies for truth and when they print a pasquill, it does not mean that the booksellers in Danzig acquire thereby the right to publicly sell such works'.[46]

Moreover the publishers of such collections of documents were often pressurized by foreign governments not to print unfriendly texts. During the same war Brandenburg made diplomatic efforts to stop the diffusion of *A discussion of some Brandenburg texts*, an anonymously published polemical pamphlet by Samuel Pufendorf (who at the time was Professor of the Law of Nations at the University of Lund).[47] The Brandenburg government put pressure on the city authorities of Frankfurt to prohibit the publishers of *Diarium Europaeum* from reissuing the pamphlet, and asked the imperial authorities to issue a mandate against its republication. The publishers of *Diarium* at first resisted the suppression of the publication, but later had to give in to pressure from Vienna. And when the Berlin government found out that the pamphlet had not been printed in Swedish Stralsund, as its cover claimed, but in Saxony, they sent an angry letter to the Elector of Saxony, demanding 'exemplary punishment' for the people who had organized its publication and requesting the confiscation and prohibition of 'this pasquill'.[48] Another example of interference is known from 1700, when the Swedish ambassador to Holland, Nils Lillieroot, wrote a memorandum to the States General requesting an end to the distribution of *Justae vindiciae*, the official Saxon legitimation of its attack on Sweden. The memo blamed the Saxon manifesto for 'spreading among the people grave and abominable insults against the name of the King and injuries to the whole Swedish nation'.[49] The intervention resulted in the confiscation of all remaining copies from bookshops in the Netherlands.[50] At the same time the Dutch assisted the publication and distribution of Sweden's own official propaganda.[51]

In his reply to the Danzig authorities, ambassador Lilliehöök made a general point on how polemics should be conducted between states: 'The *causae* and right of princes and rulers, when they have a conflict with each other, must be

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[46] Quoted from Helge Almquist, 'Bidrag till kännedomen om den karolinska tidens politiska publicistik', *Historisk Tidskrift*, 56 (1936): 141–72, at p. 144.

[47] Original Latin title: [Samuel Pufendorf], *Discussio qvorundam scriptorum Brandeburgicorum ...* ([Stockholm], 1675).

[48] The correspondence is published in Detlef Döring, *Samuel von Pufendorf. Kleine Vorträge und Schriften* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), pp. 273–80.

[49] Lamberty, *Memoires*, vol. 1, p. 88.

[50] Carl Gustav Warmholtz, *Bibliotheca Historica Sueo-Gothica ...* (15 vols, Stockholm, 1782–1817), vol. 10, no. 5243; Sven Olsson, *Olof Hermelin. En karolinsk kulturpersonlighet och statsman* (Lund, 1953), p. 173.

[51] See references in Warmholtz, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 10, nos 5238, 5245.

pronounced to the world in their own name or on their command from their chancelleries or through their ministers, thus *publico nomine*, not through pasquills.'[52] This principle was often included in the stipulations of peace treaties: the end of the contest of arms was also seen as an end to the contest of pens. To cite another example from Swedish practice, their peace treaty with Denmark in 1570 stipulated that 'the numerous slanderous and insulting pamphlets, which had been published during the reign of king Erik, injuring and attacking government and subjects on both sides, increasing the discord between the kings and prolonging this war' would be prohibited and that anyone found to own, print or distribute such texts would be severely punished.[53] The peace treaty of Roskilde of 1658, when Sweden had the upper hand, prohibited the distribution and republication of the main Danish official publications, which Sweden had considered defamatory.[54] The next peace treaty of Copenhagen (1660), which was negotiated on more equal terms, reciprocally prohibited all hostile publications.[55]

Violation of any ban on defamatory pamphlets was therefore considered a breach of peace and could provide a *causa* for a new conflict. The Danish *Manifesto* of 1657 cited the Swedish failure to punish former Danish High Steward (*rigshofmester*) Korfitz Ulfeldt, who had fled to Sweden and published pasquills against Denmark, as one of their reasons for war. Ulfeldt's wife, who had remained in Denmark, was executed for *crimen laesae majestatis*. The *Manifesto* argued that according to the stipulations of the treaties of Stettin and Brömsebro, the protection of 'a public defamer and enemy' by Sweden amounted to public hostility.[56] David Mevius's *An Answer To Tvvo Danish papers* explained that Ulfeldt had only published an 'apology', which could not be considered a 'scandalous libel'.[57] But in order to avoid such diplomatic repercussions, the governments implemented laws which prohibited the publication of pamphlets that could be considered injurious to other rulers or states. Thus in 1665 a royal edict was issued in Sweden which proscribed the writing, importing and distribution of 'pasquills and defamatory writings' which contain 'calumnies' against foreign states.[58]

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[52] Lilliehöök to the king, 14/24 July 1675. Quoted from Almquist, 'Bidrag till kännedomen', pp. 144–5.

[53] L. Laursen (ed.), *Danmark-Norges traktater, 1523–1750* (11 vols, Copenhagen, 1907–1949), vol. 1, pp. 254–5. Cf. Charles E. Hill, *The Danish Sound Dues and the Command of the Baltic: A Study of International Relations* (Durham, NC, 1926), p. 68.

[54] Parry, *The Consolidated Treaty Series*, vol. 5, p. 13, §26.

[55] Laursen, *Danmark-Norges traktater*, vol. 5, p. 375, §33.

[56] [Dietrich Reinkingk], *Manifest, Auß was Erheblichen Ursachen ...* (Copenhagen, 1657), fols B4–C1.

[57] *An Answer To Tvvo Danish Papers* (as in note 43), p. 38.

[58] *Kongl. May.ts Placat och Förbudh, Angående Pasquiller och Smädeskriffter* (1665), quoted from G.E. Klemming and J.G. Nordin, *Svensk boktryckeri-historia, 1483–1883* (Stockholm, 1883), p. 283.

When a publication printed abroad was considered insulting to the honour of a ruler or nation, a common procedure was to have it publicly burned by the executioner. This is what the Swedish government decided to do with the writings of the exiled Livonian nobleman Johann Reinhold von Patkul. Patkul had already been sentenced to death for writings that were deemed seditious, but had managed to escape from the Swedish realm. In an attempt to clear his name and make himself more employable at European courts, Patkul published a pamphlet entitled *Deduction of innocence ... against callous and shameless calumnies raised against him by his enemies and persecutors in Sweden both in public texts and manifestos and in secretly spread pasquills ....*[59] The Swedish government announced the public burning of *Deduction* in Stockholm in December 1701 in a special publication called *Rightful censure*, which declared that Patkul's 'poisonous and mendacious Deduction … does not deserve a refutation but the hand of an executioner'.[60] Patkul managed to organize an equivalent response by persuading Tsar Peter I, his new employer, to order the public burning in Moscow of all Swedish writings hostile to him. He announced this procedure in *Rightful refutation*, which mockingly imitated the style of the Swedish publication.[61] As Patkul had been involved in the legitimation of the Saxon attack on Sweden in 1700, the writings thrown on the pyre in Moscow included Swedish official and semi-official responses to the war manifesto of King August II.[62]

IV

This brief study of the efforts of governments to convince various sections of society of the justice of their cause and to stop hostile propaganda from reaching them, and of the diplomatic repercussions of failing to take these tasks seriously, suggests that justice did indeed matter in the early modern international world. I do not wish to argue that kings and governments were exclusively (or even primarily) motivated by considerations of justice when they instigated armed

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[59] [J.R. von Patkul], *Gründliche iedoch bescheidene Deduction der Unschuld Hn. Joh. Reinhold von Patkul ...* (Leipzig, 1701).

[60] *Justa animadversio in evulgatam scelerati proditoris Johannis Reinholdi Patkuli infamem deductionem ...* [dated Stockholm, 20 December 1701].

[61] [J.R. von Patkul], *Rechtmässige Retorsion, Auf die von eingen boßhafften Calumnianten und Ehren-Dieben in Schweden/ Im Druck ausgegeben so genannte Rechtmässige Ahndung ...* [dated Moscow, 19 April 1702]. On this controversy, see also Pärtel Piirimäe, 'The Pen is a Mighty Sword: Johann Reinhold Patkul's Polemical Writings', in Mati Laur and Enn Küng (eds), *Die baltischen Länder und der Norden. Festschrift für Helmut Piirimäe* (Tartu, 2005), pp. 314–41.

[62] The burned titles were the official declaration written by Olof Hermelin, *Veritas a Calumniis vindicata ...* (n.p., 1700), and a semi-official pamphlet by Thomas Polus, *Livonia perfide cruentata ...* (n.p., 1700).

conflicts. The sense of having suffered an 'injury' often played a role, but such feelings were usually accompanied by expectations of future glory and by more prudent calculations of state interest. It is also clear that publications designed to legitimate state actions contained many distortions and outright lies. But the very fact that one had to lie in the name of legitimation – that state interest by itself was insufficient justification of state action – proves that the Schmittian interpretation is not an accurate reading of seventeenth-century attitudes to international morality.

A particularly hard-nosed 'realist' would argue that this does not really matter because statesmen always decided whether or not to go to war on grounds of utility, and hence legitimation campaigns were no more than *post factum* verbal exercises or rationalizations. The problem with realism is that it is not falsifiable; every piece of evidence that seems to undermine the realist account of motivation can be dismissed by a realist as a vindication. Yet one does not need to be an idealist to argue that attitudes towards justice necessarily affected the decision-making of statesmen. All we need to do is to improve the realist account by entering considerations of whether and how a war could be internationally justified into the calculus of utility.[63] Thus, without abandoning the realist account of motivation, we may plausibly assume that there were occasions when the need to maintain an international reputation prompted a state to postpone or even refrain from an 'unjustifiable' war.

When in the light of these findings we return to seventeenth-century normative theorists, we find that their views largely correspond to attitudes towards international morality that we have uncovered on the basis of diplomatic and polemical evidence. Conjecture that the theorists replaced the substantive concept of justice with a formal one is unfounded. Such misinterpretation seems to have been caused by the fact that in the early modern period the concept 'bellum iustum' was used in a variety of ways. It is true that in addition to the traditional meaning grounded on 'iusta causa' and 'recta intentio', another meaning was developed by sixteenth-century civil lawyers which signified the legal status of a belligerent. The parties that were 'just', in this legal or formal sense, were equal with regard to the legal effects of war, no matter whether or not they were also morally 'just'.[64] It

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[63] In recent decades several scholars have pointed out that the mere fact that rulers want to legitimize their policy restricts the options available to them. See, for example, Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (2 vols, Cambridge, 1978), vol. 1, p. xii; Skinner, 'Some Problems in the Analysis of Political Thought and Action' [1974], in James Tully (ed.), *Meaning and Context* (Princeton, 1988), pp. 107–17; Rudolf Vierhaus, 'Handlungsspielräume: zur Rekonstruktion historischer Prozesse', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 237 (1983): 289–309; Sven Lundkvist, 'Verklighetsuppfattning och verklighet: en studie i Gustav II Adolfs handlingsramar', in Robert Sandberg (ed.), *Studier i äldre historia tillägnade Herman Schück* (Stockholm, 1985), pp. 227–41.

[64] This view was first put forward in Balthazar Ayala, *On the Law of War, On the Duties Connected with War, And On Military Discipline* [1582], ed. John Westlake, trans. John Pawley Bate (2 vols, Washington DC, 1912), p. 22; and shared by all lawyers since

would be a mistake, however, to assume that the moral quality of belligerents was thereby cast aside or that it was derived thereafter on the basis of legal equality.[65] The contention of those lawyers – that debate about the fairness of the cause was irrelevant to discussion of the legal consequences of war – was also valid the other way around: a belligerent's status as a legal enemy was irrelevant in judging whether or not his war was morally just.

Thus, the concept 'iustum' may indeed have been 'hijacked' by the lawyers, but they did not manage to suppress the traditional substantive meaning of the concept. Hugo Grotius was well aware of the confusion that these various meanings of the same term were causing. In order to recover what he considered the true meaning of *iustum*, he employed the novel concept 'solemn war' (*bellum solenne*) to signify the formal justness of war and reserved the old concept 'just war' (*bellum iustum*) for its traditional, substantive meaning. Grotius makes abundantly clear that conformity to formal justness did not absolve the ruler from the obligation to follow the traditional substantive criteria of justice:

> What has been said touching the Justice of the Cause, ought to be observed in publick Wars, as well as in private. … [It is] true, those Wars that are commenced by publick Authority have certain Effects of Right, as the Sentences of Judges: Of which hereafter: But are therefore not less criminal, if begun without a just Foundation.[66]

More moderate Schmittians would not deny that a distinction was made between the substantive and formal standards of justice, but they explain this away by arguing that the former was 'relegated to the realm of conscience'.[67] Without dwelling upon the issue of whether the term 'relegation' might be an anachronism which unduly neglects the anxieties of seventeenth-century people about eternal punishment, I would simply point to the evidence presented above which does not support the claim that statesmen felt themselves responsible to God only. We saw that they also felt it necessary to prove the clarity of their conscience to 'the world'. Thus they were worried not only about the purity of their soul but also about the very worldly effects of failing to justify their cause to other nations. In what concerns Hugo Grotius specifically, he cannot be seen as having 'relegated'

Alberico Gentili. See, for example, William Fulbecke, *The Pandectes of the Law of Nations* (London, 1602), p. 37.

[65] Thus Carl Schmitt: 'liegt hier der neue, nicht mehr diskriminierende Kriegsbegriff, der es ermöglicht, die kriegführende Staaten als völkerrechtlich gleichberechtigt, d.h. beide als justi hosti rechtlich und moralisch auf gleicher Ebene zu behandeln und die Begriffe Feind und Verbrecher auseinander zu halten'. Schmitt, *Der Nomos der Erde im Völkerrecht des jus publicum Europæum* (Cologne, 1950), p. 120.

[66] Hugo Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace*, ed. Richard Tuck, from the edition by Jean Barbeyrac (3 vols, Indianapolis, 2005), vol. 2, ch. 1, §1.3.

[67] See Neff, *War and the Law of Nations*, p. 100 (on Grotius).

substantive justice to the realm of conscience either. In his *De iure belli ac pacis* he outlines the jural effects of both 'solemn' and 'just' wars. Most importantly, in his view the obligations of third parties towards the states at war depend on whose side justice lay – exactly as contemporary statesmen argued in their diplomatic correspondence. Grotius maintains that it is the duty of 'those that are not engaged in the War, to sit still and do nothing, that may strengthen him that prosecutes an ill Cause, or to hinder the Motions of him that hath Justice on his Side, as we have said a before.'[68] Moreover, he contends that this is not only the moral duty of a righteous ruler but that it also has legal consequences: 'if the Wrongs done to me by the Enemy be openly unjust, and he by those Supplies puts him in a Condition to maintain his unjust War, then shall he not only be obliged to repair my Loss, but also be treated as a Criminal'.[69]

Thus, if there was any rift at all between normative beliefs held by leading theorists such as Grotius and by wider sections of society, then the theorists were more idealistic than the rest, rather than more cynical. This, of course, runs counter to the Schmittian thesis of a radical theoretical innovation which overcame the discretionary conception of war. To judge by the last quotation, Grotius seems more like an unrealistic armchair analyst who failed to take into account the lack of a supranational authority able to form binding judgements on the substantive justice, and to enforce them by punishing one ruler or the other as 'a criminal'.[70] Yet I do not believe there was such a rift. The cases discussed in this chapter indicate that there was indeed a supranational authority to judge the justice of the belligerents – namely the embryonic political public sphere, which during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries comprised increasingly large sections of society. It has to be emphasized that the public sphere that took any interest in foreign policy was still very narrow. It was also fragmented – there was no 'marketplace of information' common to all social groups, so perhaps it is more apposite to speak of 'public spheres' in the plural. Distinct audiences had different expectations both for the style and content of the writings legitimating state action, which were addressed, as we have seen, by different genres of publications. Yet governments were ever more dependent on public opinion both at home and abroad, and their success in polemical battles was increasingly vital for the outcome of their wars.

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[68] Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace*, vol. 3, ch. 17, §3.

[69] Ibid., vol. 3, ch. 1, §5.3.

[70] The difficulty of establishing the morally just side in war led eighteenth-century theorists to abandon the requirement that neutrals should adapt their behaviour according to perceived moral justice. Thus Cornelius van Bynkershoek argued that 'the question of justice and injustice does not concern the neutral', who must show no 'favouritism toward or prejudice against either belligerent', *Quaestionum juris publici libri duo* [1737] (Oxford and London, 1930), ch. 9, p. 61. This view was, however, not universally accepted; see e.g. Emerich de Vattel, *The Law of Nations or the Principles of Natural Law* [1758] (Washington DC, 1916), bk. II, §168.

Chapter 7
Colbert, Louis XIV and the Golden Notebooks: What a King Needs to Know to Rule[1]

Jacob Soll

Jean-Baptiste Colbert and Louis XIV are closely associated with the concept of mercantile protectionism. Some historians of economy and government have characterized the 22-year ministry of Colbert (roughly 1661–1683) as a period of great building, culture and industrial expansion, and some as an economic failure.[2] This chapter shows that this is a simplistic and misleading characterization of the early reign of Louis XIV. Indeed, while Colbert did follow a policy of mercantilism, often to the economic detriment of his projects, he also made innovations to statecraft that had a wide-ranging influence on European political culture and the growth of political economy as the basis of government in Europe in despotic, parliamentary and republican governments alike. Colbert developed an approach that deployed economic expertise in administration. As such, he was a forerunner of figures such as Turgot and Adam Smith, and not necessarily their antithesis. By insisting on detailed financial knowledge, Colbert created a new, economic culture at the heart of the state.

Colbert fused mercantile and humanist cultures to create an innovative course of statecraft for Louis XIV. Louis had not chosen a chief minister, but Colbert was, nonetheless, the architect of Louis's new government and his administrative teacher. Rather than use the traditional humanist political language of reason of state and politics, this chapter shows that Colbert designed Louis XIV's large-scale administrative state with little thought for traditional political philosophy. Instead, he used a new set of tools, many of them based on accounting and information management, such as bookkeeping, inventorying and archiving. It was these he taught to Louis XIV. In order to understand the mechanics of

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[1] This chapter is a reworked version of chapter 4 from Jacob Soll, *The Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert's Secret State Intelligence System* (Ann Arbor, 2009).

[2] For a balanced overview of the limits and successes of French absolutism as well as an extensive historiography on the topic, see Guy Rowlands, *The Dynastic State and the Army under Louis XIV: Royal Service and Private Interest 1661–1701* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 1–31. Also see Robert S. Duplessis, *Transitions of Capitalism in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 237–8.

the rise of the modern state, it is thus necessary to understand not only political philosophies, but also the mix of knowledge and information cultures that Colbert developed and taught to the Sun King.

In 1663, Louis XIV's powerful minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), gained the official title of Controller-General of Finances from Nicolas Fouquet. In this period of peace between 1662 and 1671 Colbert reformed financial administration, increasing state revenue by more than one-third and managing to keep deficits at only 7 per cent above revenue.[3] He began improving revenue through his Chamber of Justice, tax reforms and the financial reorganization of the kingdom. Fouquet had been exiled, and the *parlements* humbled. With income flowing, Louis could focus on pleasure, culture, buildings and his absolutist, administrative reforms. His powers consolidated in his super-ministry, Colbert embarked on his own projects, building his personal library along with that of the king and founding his royal academies. With a great deal of France's resources under his control, Colbert was one of the most powerful figures in the world. He organized the building of Versailles, as well as other prestigious industrial, colonial and architectural projects.[4] It was a period of achievement for both Louis and Colbert, who worked in concert.[5] Louis set broad policy goals; Colbert would then work out their mechanics and Louis would in turn go over the administrative and political blueprints. It was an opportunity for the young king to learn from his skilled accountant and minister.

Colbert was Louis's most important confidant – the keeper of his secrets. Indeed, he helped Louis write two major sections of his *Mémoires for the Instruction of the Dauphin* (1665).[6] Louis entrusted his minister with raising Mlle de Blois and the

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[3] By the time of the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714), the deficit would run to 371 per cent. On Colbert's tax collection, see Richard Bonney, *Political Change in France under Richelieu and Mazarin 1624–1661* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 424–7; and on his expenditures, see Bonney, *The King's Debts: Finance and Politics in France 1589–1661* (Oxford, 1981), p. 325, table 11. Also see Bonney, 'The Secret Expenses of Richelieu and Mazarin, 1624–1661', *The English Historical Review*, 91 (1976): 825–86, at 834.

[4] On Colbert and the early period of Louis XIV's reign, see Daniel Dessert, *Colbert ou le serpent venimeux* (Paris, 2000), pp. 1–20. On the Colbert family's slow rise to power, see Jean-Louis Bourgeon, *Les Colbert avant Colbert: Destin d'une famille marchande* (Paris, 1973). For biographies of Colbert, see Inès Murat, *Colbert*, trans. Robert Francis Cook and Jeannie Van Asselt (Charlottesville, 1984), which contains research on family documents never before seen; and Jean Meyer, *Colbert* (Paris, 1981). Aside from these standard modern biographies, Pierre Clément's classic work remains useful, *Histoire de la vie et de l'administration de Colbert* (Paris, 1846). For the finest work on Colbert's government, see Daniel Dessert and Jean-Louis Journet, 'Le lobby Colbert,' *Annales ESC*, 30 (1975): 1303–29. Also see the compilation of documents and references in the catalogue of the exposition celebrating the tercentenary of Colbert's death: *Colbert 1619–1683* (Paris, 1983).

[5] Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, 1992), pp. 49–59.

[6] Louis XIV, *Mémoires for the Instruction of the Dauphin*, trans. and ed. Paul Sonnino (New York, 1970).

Count of Vermandois – his bastard children by Louise de La Vallière – in his own house, caring for them when they were sick.[7] In 1667, when Louise fled to a convent out of jealousy and fear over Louis's infatuation with Mme de Montespan, Colbert was the go-between, sent to bring her back to Versailles. Colbert also looked after the royal family and mediated between Louis and his extravagant brother, Philippe d'Orléans.[8] Colbert was diligent in taking care of personal business for Louis, just as he had done for the former chief minister Cardinal Mazarin. Thus he became indispensable at all levels. Colbert literally kept an agenda that 'set the king's days'.[9] A casual note from Louis to Colbert in 1661 illustrates how his services combined the official and the personal:

> As I believe there is nothing pressing today, I will not do any work. Bring the papers we were to discuss this evening to tomorrow's council of finance, so I can finish up what needs to be done before Mass.
>
> The Queen doesn't want the ruby box; she has nothing that fits it.
>
> If anything urgent comes up, let me know.
>
> LOUIS[10]

In his *Mémoires for the Instruction of the Dauphin*, Louis stated that he would rule without a chief minister.[11] Yet Colbert's status partially contradicts this claim, as does the fact that he helped write the *Mémoires*. Louis remarked to the dauphin that his undertakings had been so grand that he had not been able to do everything himself. 'I was personally often relieved in this work by Colbert, whom I entrusted with examining things that required too much discussion and into which I would not have had time to go.'[12] Colbert did not, however, decide final policy, and he had to share power with the Foreign Minister, Hugues de Lionne, and the Minister of War, Michel Le Tellier.[13] He was, nonetheless, the leading minister during the first two decades – arguably the most glorious – of Louis's reign. Louis made policy decisions, but he did so with Colbert's advice. How could he do otherwise? It was Colbert who received all the reports from the Intendants and managed much of the workings of the state. Louis could not master financial and other complex policy without someone to guide him through the labyrinth of medieval administration and new institutions created by his forebears. Thus Colbert emerged as Louis's teacher in the workings of finance and government. In essence Colbert created

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7 Murat, *Colbert*, p. 84.

8 Ibid., p. 85.

9 Ibid., p. 70.

10 Unpublished document, ibid., p. 78.

11 Louis XIV, *Instruction of the Dauphin*, p. 64.

12 Ibid., p. 65.

13 On the rise of the Le Tellier family, see Louis André, *Michel Le Tellier et Louvois* (Geneva, 1974).

an ongoing course in administration and information handling for Louis that continued until his death in 1683.

In a breaking from French royal tradition, Louis XIV did not hire court humanists as advisors, as Henri IV and Richelieu had done. He preferred his personal accountant to serve as his learned advisor in most branches of statecraft. Colbert not only controlled the royal library and culture complex; as Louis's information master, he also assumed the role of chief royal counsel and teacher in non-spiritual affairs. In addition to the sections he contributed to *Instruction of the Dauphin*, he also wrote numerous other pedagogical guides for Louis's heir.[14] This had formerly been a traditional activity for humanists such as Guillaume Budé. Louis asked Colbert for reports and instructions on matters he felt he needed to know. In turn Colbert made regular recommendations to Louis and provided him with reports or instructions on questions necessary to the management of the state, often outsourcing projects to other scholars. What emerged was a unique training in government administration that reflected Colbert's system of information gathering.

What Kings Need to Know to Rule

If Cardinal Richelieu had preached political expertise in his *Political Testament* (1624), Colbert's approach represented the rise of a new technical type of governmental expertise. In *Political Testament*, Richelieu wrote his own work of Machiavellian Tacitist maxims, paired them with essays on Christian morality and made references to medical culture.[15] Richelieu the Catholic prelate practised reason of state: he mastered secrecy, built his administration and even made covert treaties with Protestants against Rome and Spain.[16] To survive in a world of religious strife and the horrors of the Thirty Years War, civic politics, as Justus Lipsius had said, was an ethic unto itself, and reason of state and the lessons of history were seen as methods for survival. This was the culmination of Counter-Reformation princely prudence, steeped in Jesuit moral casuistry and historical maxims, necessary in the world of shattered Christendom where one sought the difficult balancing act of crushing one's enemies while at the same time, as Spanish Jesuit Baltasar Gracián recommended, 'remaining saintly'.[17]

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[14] See Paul Sonnino's introduction to Louis XIV, *Instruction of the Dauphin*, pp. 3–16 at 5.

[15] Armand du Plessis, Cardinal Richelieu, *Testament Politique*, ed. Françoise Hildesheimer (Paris, 1995), p. 253; William F. Church, *Richelieu and Reason of State* (Princeton, 1973).

[16] Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, ed. Brigitta Oestreich and H.G. Koenigsberger, trans. David McLintock (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 2–9.

[17] Baltasar Gracián, *L'Homme de cour*, trans. and ed. Abraham-Nicolas Amelot de La Houssaye (Paris, 1684). The final chapter is entitled 'Enfin, être saint'. See also Robert

And yet, sophisticated as late humanist political culture was, it did not embrace all forms of practical learning. Erasmus had insisted that kings become scholars, and Henri IV's doctors recommended they be systematic empiricists. However, these humanists did not ask their kings to become experts in the minutiae of state administration and finance.[18] This was left to ministers like Richelieu and the Duke of Sully. Sully pioneered many of the financial, statistical, industrial and military reforms later adopted by Colbert and, although there is no evidence he ever learned double-entry bookkeeping, he did keep state account books.[19] Yet he never taught his financial craft to Henri IV. Richelieu took an active role in financial management and taxation through his superintendents of finance, but he never attended any meetings of the Council of Finances. He admitted to his Controller-General of Finances, Claude de Bullion, that he had 'no knowledge of finances [but] sought the advice of those to whom the King has given their direction.'[20] Machiavellians and Tacitists such as Bodin, Botero and Richelieu recognized that finances were the 'sinews of power'. At the same time, they did not seek to study the artisanal and mercantile traditions of early humanism that had flourished in the workshops of Florence.[21]

Old Italian mercantile, administrative culture had fostered humanism, but it was steeped in an ethic of technical expertise. Humanist engineers mastered the learning of the ancients to literally rebuild Rome, and merchants and artisans developed double-entry bookkeeping, managed city government, sponsored erudite projects and also wrote their own histories and memoirs using their commercial registries and archives as sources of memory.[22] At the very moment that Tacitists claimed that statecraft could be learned through classical ethics and history, it became increasingly clear that these forms of political learning were not sufficient for managing a large, industrial, colonial and militarized state.

Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe* (Chapel Hill, 1990).

[18] Jacob Soll, 'Healing the Body Politic: French Royal Doctors, History and the Birth of a Nation 1560–1634', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 55 (2002): 1259–86.

[19] David Buisseret, *Sully and the Growth of Centralized Government in France 1598–1610* (London, 1968), pp. 74–86.

[20] Cited by Orest Ranum, *Richelieu and the Councillors of Louis XIII* (Oxford, 1963), p. 136: 'aucune cognoissance des finances [mais] il s'en rapportoit à ceux ausquels le Roy en avoit donné la direction'. See also Richard Bonney, 'Louis XIII, Richelieu and the Royal Finances', in Joseph Bergin and Laurence Brockliss (eds), *Richelieu and His Age* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 99–133; Bonney, *Political Change*, p. 8.

[21] On the relationship between scholarly, philological humanism and technical, artisan culture, see Anthony Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti: Master Builder of the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA, 2002).

[22] Christian Bec, *Les marchands écrivains: Affaires et humanisme à Florence 1375–1434* (Paris, 1967), p. 51.

Double-Entry Bookkeeping, Archiving and the Political Economy of Statecraft

In the 1590s, the Dutch mathematician and engineer Simon Stevin (1548–1620) became both tutor and advisor to Prince Maurice of Nassau. The author of works on mathematics, physics, nautical mechanics, language and music, Stevin represents a branch of learned humanism different from that of literary philologists and lawyers such as Erasmus or the late humanist political historians Lipsius and Jacques-Auguste de Thou.[23] Hugo Grotius, whose father was a friend of Stevin, was said to have admired both his theories and his nautical inventions, so crucial to a nation that existed below sea level and reliant on seaborne trade.[24] Stevin would go on to be state engineer, controller-general of finances and chief of the all-important Dutch waterworks. As a scholar, Stevin was descended from Florentine mathematicians, inventors and engineers in the tradition of Brunelleschi, Leon Battista Alberti and Leonardo da Vinci. Although he wrote works on formal learned subjects such as language and mathematics, he focused mainly on engineering and practical learning. This was reflected in his work on mathematics, which, following ancient Italian tradition, considered accounting and double-entry bookkeeping branches of the mathematical sciences.

Stevin tutored Prince Maurice in the art of double-entry bookkeeping, and kept a journal of his interactions with the prince. The idea of a prince learning accounting was anathema in a world of Christian, chivalric and courtly princes. It is impossible to imagine the neo-Platonist, elitist Castiglione recommending that a courtier, or his friend Emperor Charles V, learn the minutiae of keeping accounts and receipt books.[25] It would be hard to keep one's *sprezzatura* while toiling over balance sheets. Yet Stevin taught Prince Maurice these exact skills, explaining credits, debits, capital and entry keeping. The prince noted how difficult it all was to understand.[26]

The basic principle of double-entry bookkeeping is that of two calculations made in relation to the sum of capital. Credits are a plus-value to the capital, while any purchase is both an addition of goods and a debit to capital used to pay for them. Comparing credits and debits and coming up with the same sum for final

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[23] On the Dutch role in disseminating Italian accounting practices for government, see Jacob Soll, 'The Age of Reckoning: Accounting, Holland and Political Responses to the Seventeenth-Century Crises in Europe 1650–1700', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 2 (2009): 215–38. On Stevin, see Simon Stevin, *Principal Works*, ed. Ernst Crone et al. (5 vols, Amsterdam, 1966); see vol. 5 on engineering.

[24] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 3–6.

[25] Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 29.

[26] A transcript of Stevin's journal and discussion with Prince Maurice is found in John Bart Geijsbeek, *Ancient Double-Entry Bookkeeping: Lucas Pacioli's treatise (A.D. 149 – the earliest known writer on bookkeeping) reproduced and translated with reproductions, notes and abstracts from Manzoni, Pietra, Mainardi, Ympyn, Stevin and Dafforne* (Denver, 1914), pp. 15–16.

capital holdings ensures proper management of the general capital account. Prince Maurice was an adept pupil, for he understood that the most complex concept within double-entry bookkeeping centred on capital and its double relationship to credits and debits: 'The entries stand in my ledger as debits and credits. Which of these two stand to my advantage and which to my disadvantage?'[27]

Stevin had based his own writings and pedagogical programme on the famous Tuscan Franciscan mathematician Luca Pacioli's foundational work on accounting, *Summa de Arithmetica* (1494), which contains the treatise 'The Particulars of Accounting and their Recording'.[28] Pacioli (1445–1517) – a possible translator of Piero della Francesca's writings on perspective and collaborator of da Vinci – was certainly not the first to understand double-entry bookkeeping. There is evidence that a branch of the Medici family under Averardo di Francesco di Bicci used it at their bank branch in the 1390s.[29] However, Pacioli was the first to explain the mechanics of accounting in a printed book, which would become the basis of literature on accounting thereafter. One reason Prince Maurice of Nassau found the concept of capital – or household or business inventory – complex was because inventorying and capital assessment entailed a massive archival undertaking. To understand his accounts a king would have to understand his records, and it took a certain level of archival skill to keep track of capital.

Pacioli's treatise focuses primarily on relating the forms of record-keeping necessary to the management of inventories. Double-entry bookkeeping is based on the keeping of three primary books: 'Immediately after the Inventory, you need three books to make the work proper and easy. One is called Memorandum (*Mémoriale*), the second Journal (*Giornale*) and the third Ledger (*Quaderno*).'[30] The memorandum is a 'scrap book, or blotter'.[31] In it, all transactions are kept in real time, as they happen, and original records are filed. Everything must be recorded: times and dates, as well as measurements and types of currency. The memorandum could be huge to cover different parts of the business: household expenses, acquisitions, sales, different branches of the business; a large business would need multiple memoranda.

Merchants had to be skilled in handling numbers, books, inventories and archives.[32] To record all inventory was a massive undertaking – for example buildings, land, stores, commercial inventory, cash, receipts and promissory notes

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[27] Ibid., p. 15.

[28] Luca Pacioli, *Summa de Arithmetica, Geometria, Proportioni et Proportionalita* (Venice, 1494).

[29] Raymond de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank 1397–1494* (Cambridge, MA, 1963), pp. 37–8.

[30] Cited in Geijsbeek, *Ancient Double-Entry Bookkeeping*, p. 89.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., p. 43: 'In this Journal, which is your private book, you may fully state all that you own in personal or real property, always making reference to the inventory papers which you or others may have written and which are kept in the same box, or chest, or *filza*,

– and an inventory for one large household alone could entail numerous record books.[33] To handle all this information merchants needed to master the discursive and indexing tools necessary for writing and summarizing text and rendering it navigable. In the chapter entitled 'Summary of the rules and ways for keeping a Ledger' Pacioli lists all the rules for writing and keeping records necessary to create a ledger.[34] In the same style as an archivist, Jesuit or encyclopedic note-taker, he describes abbreviations, shorthand markings and other note-taking tools necessary for navigating large rolls of accounts.

Pacioli's book had a great impact throughout Europe, inspiring accounting books such as *The Merchants' Mirrours* by Richard Dafforne, and works by John Mellis, Jan Ympyn Christoffels and Stevin.[35] In this period, being a successful merchant thus meant being a financier, a skilled archival manager and record-keeper, as well as something of a naturalist who observed and collected. Thus Stevin was able to persuade the Dutch state to use double-entry bookkeeping. It is said that he made the same recommendation to Sully, who did not take his advice.[36] In the 1650s, Jean Roland Mallet practised single-entry bookkeeping, simply comparing revenue and expenditure.[37] But there is no evidence of royal involvement in bookkeeping. Jacques Savary's *Le Parfait Négociant ou Instruction générale pour ce qui regarde le commerce* (1679), written at the behest of Colbert, discusses double-entry bookkeeping in detail, yet never mentions its use for government.[38] In France, the *ars mercatoria* would take longer to enter into royal culture.

In 1615, Antoine de Montchrétien dedicated his *Treatise on Political Economy* to the Regent Marie de Médicis and her son, Louis XIII. Addressing the monarchs, he begged the queen mother to teach her son about the technical side of manufacturing, as well as about merchandise and new natural products from the colonies. The king would need to understand shipbuilding, metalworking, manufacturing and even how to run a forge.[39] He would also need naturalist knowledge about sandalwood, *materia medica*, tobacco and rhubarb.[40] Montchrétien cited medical theory and advocated the kind of knowledge from the marketplace associated with Petrus

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or *mazzo*, or pouch, as is customary and as is usually done with letters and other instruments of writing.'

33 Ibid., p. 78.

34 Ibid., p. 77.

35 Ibid., p. 9.

36 Buisseret, *Sully*, p. 85.

37 Bonney, *The King's Debts*, pp. 304–5. 'Appendix Two', ibid., pp. 297–325, provides an extraordinary reproduction of account balances for the seventeenth century.

38 Jacques Savary, *Le Parfait Négociant ou Instruction générale pour ce qui regarde le commerce* (Paris, 1679).

39 Antoine de Montchrétien, *Traicté de l'oeconomie politique* (Rouen, 1615), pp. 11–51.

40 Ibid., pp. 323–4.

Ramus, travelling medical humanists such as Garcia da Orta and Jesuit travel writers, as well as the older artisanal humanism of Brunelleschi, Alberti and da Vinci.[41] Late humanism, both Erasmian and Tacitist, relied on rhetoric, history and law. Montchrétien was demanding additions to the royal curriculum that included basic elements of the *ars mercatoria*. He insisted that the king acquire a working knowledge of finance. Louis would have to study Intendants' reports, understand tax codes and try to ameliorate corruption. Doing all this entailed an understanding of how finances worked and the making of 'a true revenue account' – the keeping of a royal ledger.[42]

Despite the economic works of Bodin, Laffemas and Montchrétien, and despite her personal connections with banking families, Marie de Médicis did not heed Montchrétien's advice. Financial and industrial training never entered into Louis XIII's pedagogical programme, designed by the humanist doctor Jean Héroard.[43] Louis XIII would never have studied account books. He might have looked at the pictures in Conrad Gessner's *Historia animalium*, but as Héroard complained, the young prince did not really read the traditional humanist books he recommended to him.[44] While industrious and reforming ministers such as Sully and Richelieu were deeply influenced by the mercantilist and absolutist ideas of Bodin and Montchrétien, there is little evidence that these ministers sought to understand the mundane workings of accounting.[45]

Royal Accountability

This trend continued with the education of Louis XIV.[46] Due to the tumult of the Fronde during the first decade of his life, Louis's formal education was neglected. In 1650, Mazarin and Anne of Austria finally found a somewhat odd set of tutors for the young king.[47] His primary teacher was the libertine sceptical philosopher François de La Mothe Le Vayer (1588–1672), an heir to Michel de Montaigne

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41 Ibid., p. 18.

42 Ibid., p. 358.

43 On Louis XIII's education, see Soll, 'Healing the Body Politic', p. 1279.

44 Ibid.

45 Charles Woolsey Cole, *Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism* (2 vols, New York, 1939), vol. 1, p. 138; Franklin Charles Palm, *The Economic Policies of Richelieu* [1922] (New York, 1970). On Montchrétien's influence on Richelieu and his milieu, see Erik Thomson, 'Commerce, Law, and Erudite Culture: The Mechanics of Théodore Godefroy's Service to Cardinal Richelieu', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 68 (2007): 407–27 at 421.

46 On Louis XIV's education, see John B. Wolf, *Louis XIV* (New York, 1968), pp. 56–82.

47 Orest Ranum, *Artisans of Glory: Writers and Historical Thought in Seventeenth-Century France* (Chapel Hill, 1980), pp. 265–7.

and Pierre Charron.[48] Le Vayer created for Louis a series of pedagogical works concerning the sciences necessary for statecraft: *Géographie, Rhétorique, Morale, Economique, Politique, Logique, and Physique du prince* (1651–1658). These royal manuals of pedagogy stand out as examples of the sort of late humanism favoured by libertines like Gabriel Naudé. They are historical and ethical, with ample references to classical sources, but are dry and offer little practical advice. His essays on finance and economy discuss the prince's historical and ethical role in taxation fairly. Considering the rise of both political economy and Cartesianism, it is remarkable that Louis received no formal training in either finance or mathematics.

Louis's other tutor was the churchman Hardouin de Péréfixe, abbé of Beaumont, who taught the young king statecraft through his catechisms and *Institutio principis ad Ludovicum XIV* (Paris, 1647), in which he set out the pious Latin maxims that Louis would copy by hand in a notebook now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.[49] In the first lines, Louis declared that 'the first duty of a Christian prince is to serve God' and 'I wish to render honour to priests'. Whatever the libertine Le Vayer thought of this, he did not say. Although he never played a political role, Le Vayer continued publishing sceptical works and was given a good pension by Louis.

Along with a narrow bookish education and the pious exercises of his religious preceptors, Louis learned Spanish piety, etiquette and elaborate Spanish court ceremonial from his mother, Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III and granddaughter of Philip II of Spain. In addition to this, Cardinal Mazarin gave his young godson Louis another sort of education: he allowed him to sit in on council meetings, including those of finance.[50] Thus Louis learned the workings of the state and its multifarious institutions. To sit in council was to receive reports, discuss war and taxation, and learn how to digest the paperwork that flowed to the head of state.[51] The cardinal would test the young king, asking him to make decisions based on the reports received in council.[52] Louis thus learned the métier of being king, and gained a taste for it.

Yet Mazarin, like his pupil, had no formal training in accounting, and this had led to financial troubles for him. This is why he hired Colbert as his personal accountant. It was as a young man that Louis met Colbert, his godfather's accountant. On his deathbed, not only did Mazarin leave Louis the legacy of most of the 30 million pounds (*livres*) Colbert had helped him acquire, he also,

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[48] René Pintard, *Le libertinage érudit dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle* (Geneva and Paris, 1983), pp. 595–612; Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750* (Oxford, 2001), p. 15.

[49] Cited in Wolf, *Louis XIV*, p. 58. Also see Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF), Ms. Fr. 4926.

[50] Robert Lacour-Gayet, *L'éducation politique de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1898).

[51] Wolf, *Louis XIV*, p. 70.

[52] Ibid.

quite literally, left him Colbert.[53] In his will, of which Colbert and Fouquet were executors, Mazarin simply states 'I ask the king to hire him [Colbert], for he is trustworthy.'[54]

In his *Instruction of the Dauphin* of 1665, which was meant to be a training manual for the next king of France, Louis XIV boasted to his heir that successful kingship lay in being well informed.[55] Louis clearly set out the problem of managing large-scale state administration, yet the *Instruction* barely gives the technical knowledge needed for this task. Indeed, Louis's own early education did not prepare him for taking on this new government. How then did Louis conceive of and manage a large-scale administrative state?

In the *Instruction of the Dauphin*, Louis had exhorted his son never to trust a chief minister, except in questions of finance where kings need experts:

> I took the precaution of assigning Colbert … the title of Intendant, a man in whom I had the highest confidence, because I knew that he was very dedicated, intelligent, and honest; and I have entrusted him then with keeping the register of funds that I have described to you.[56]

In addition to sections of *Instruction of the Dauphin*, Colbert also wrote manuscript instructions for Louis's heir that contain information pertaining to finances. In them, he discusses the need to master finance through the handling of account books and the 'disposition of registers'.[57] Colbert recommended the young prince to:

> note by hand all the accounts in the state financial registers of funds at the beginning of each year, and also the registry of spending from the past year. He should go over and sign in his hand all the roles of Savings, all the accounting reports, and all the status claims that have been verified.[58]

Colbert warned the prince never to stop doing this work, for it was so delicate that it could be left to no other. In short, Colbert felt it necessary that, to be king, the young prince needed to learn the basics of accounting and inventory management.

What Colbert wrote to the Dauphin in 1665, he had already taught Louis in 1661. The 'registers' mentioned by both Louis and Colbert were not just traditional account books. They represented an extraordinary step in the counsel of kings. If

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53 Ibid., pp. 152–5.

54 Murat, *Colbert*, p. 55.

55 Louis XIV, *Instruction of the Dauphin*, pp. 35–6.

56 Ibid., p. 5; see also Paul Sonnino's introduction, pp. 3–16.

57 Colbert, 'Mémoire pour l'instruction du Dauphin', manuscript in Colbert's hand (1665), in Jean-Baptiste Colbert, *Lettres, instructions et mémoires*, ed. Pierre Clément (7 vols, Paris, 1861–1870), vol. 2, part 1, pp. ccxii–ccxvii at ccvx.

58 Ibid., p. ccxvii.

Louis claimed that he knew all things about his kingdom at all times – accounts, troop numbers, diplomatic information – it was because twice a day for more than two hours he studied dispatches and reports.[59] His chief reporter was Colbert, who presented his summaries to the king at least twice a week, but most importantly on Fridays, when he presented an overview of all the information he had received.[60] Colbert was master of the internal report.

From their correspondence, it is clear that Louis asked Colbert not only to take care of his personal and extraordinary business; he also asked Colbert specific questions about how the state worked. It was staggeringly arcane – a feudal web of laws and taxes. Thus Colbert's attendants set about writing explanations of the mechanics of French government: history of law, tax relations with the Church, and how Louis could gain power over the *parlements*.[61] At Louis's request, in 1666, Colbert wrote a historical and legal history of how the Crown financed and outfitted its household troops. Colbert quoted not only ancient texts in this historical report but also legal documents from the times of Francis I and Henri IV.[62] The same is the case in his 'Mémoire sur le règlement des taxes pour la décharge de la Chambre de Justice' (1661–1662).[63] Finance and taxes were historical and legal questions illuminated not only by current data, but also by historical research into the kingdom's archives.

In 1663, Colbert began writing a history of royal finance entitled 'Mémoires sur les affaires de finances de France pour servir à l'histoire'.[64] It was meant to inform Louis of financial precedents of past kings, and possibly intended to be published as propaganda, although its detail of royal accounts suggests it was meant for Louis alone.[65] This biased pedagogical text both explains to the king how to manage his finances and celebrates royal achievement, contrasting it to the crimes of Fouquet while, with studied understatement, pointing out the modest hard work of Colbert himself.

The text explains the functions of the Intendants, how much tax kings such as Henri IV levied and how much revenue they earned.[66] Colbert begins his essay by

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[59] Louis XIV, *Instruction of the Dauphin*, p. 29.

[60] Also see Richard Bonney, 'Vindication of the Fronde? The Cost of Louis XIV's Versailles Building Programme', *French History*, 21/2 (2007): 205–25.

[61] See Jacob Soll, 'The Antiquary and the Information State: Colbert's Archives, Secret Histories, and the Affair of the *Régale*, 1663–1682', *French Historical Studies*, 31 (2008): 3–28.

[62] Colbert, 'Mémoire au Roi' (22 July 1666), in *Lettres*, vol. 2, part 1, pp. ccxvii–ccxxvi.

[63] Colbert, 'Mémoire sur le règlement des taxes pour la décharge de la Chambre de Justice' (1661–1662), ibid., vol. 2, part 1, section 2, pp. 1–3.

[64] Colbert, 'Mémoires sur les affaires de finances de France pour servir à l'histoire' (1663), ibid., pp. 17–68.

[65] See Dessert's analysis of this text in *Serpent venimeux*, pp. 17–37.

[66] Colbert, 'Mémoires sur les affaires', p. 19.

noting that royal authority over finances had constantly been mismanaged, to the point where past kings were only confirming fiscal policy that had been imposed by their ministers.[67] He went over past errors and 'pernicious maxims' that had driven royal finances to bankruptcy.[68] He discusses institutional history, such as the role of parliament, the Intendants and the Chamber of Justice.[69] Colbert's system of Intendants and agents allowed him to write this history as he had at his disposal up-to-date figures on royal finances, taxes, manufacturing and seaborne trade.[70] Thus Colbert could inform the king while also furthering his own interests. He produces figures from royal accounts during Fouquet's tenure to illustrate the fallen minister's errors and 'dissipation'.[71] He discusses methods of handling finance, explaining to the king the best way to manage his accounts through a Council of Finances, with a Controller-General – Colbert of course – at its head.[72]

Colbert's history of royal finance exposes the influence of the culture of accounting and how he presented and taught it to Louis, the first French king to learn the mechanics of accounting. In a long passage that comes from Pacioli but clearly reflects Colbert's expertise, the minister describes the practices of the accountant king he has trained:

> Then, His Majesty will have delivered the reports of the state of finances, including [tax] farms and general receipts, in which there will be found infinite considerable examples that the corruption of past centuries has established, and which consumed a great part of the most evident revenues of the king.
>
> Beginning with the first council, His Majesty had ordered that an exact register be kept of the entire receipts of expenditure of the State for each year; and as this had not been done by the preceding administration, and as those books that had been kept before were extremely confused, it was impossible to keep them in a way that was clear and intelligible. But as His Majesty had them [the registers] presented to him every eight days, and as he gave his orders to reform them so that he could perceive any error they contained, he managed, in five or six months time, to make them so clear and so sure as to what was put in them, that this method covered any possibility of theft or dissipation, not only during his reign, but as long as these orders will be given.
>
> The first [of these registers] is called the Journal, in which are written all the orders that are signed day by day, and, in the margin, the funds from which they have been allocated. The first council after the end of the month, His Majesty has this register brought to him, and has all the recent expenditures of which

[67] Ibid., p. 19.
[68] Ibid., p. 20.
[69] Ibid., p. 23.
[70] Ibid., pp. 51–5.
[71] Ibid., pp. 30–32.
[72] Ibid., p. 40.

> it contains records, and has the accounting of funds done in his presence and signed with his hand.
>
> The second is the Register of funds, in which is recorded, by separate chapters, all *the funds*, that is to say all the receipts of the State, which are written on the back (verso) of the page; and on the front (recto) the entire *confirmation*, which is to say the payments made to the Savings fund or the expenditures which are allocated from these funds. And, from time to time, at the opening of this register, His Majesty verifies the funds and confirmation, which he calculates and signs with his own hand.
>
> The third is the Register of expenditures, in which is recorded all the expenditures of the State; and in the margins are the funds from which they have been allocated. And, from time to time, at the opening of this Register, His Majesty verifies the nature of expenditures, such as extraordinary ones made for war, royal houses (buildings and others), sees all the funds from which they have been taken and has them calculated in his presence, and signs them with his hand.
>
> These three registers each contain that which the others contain, and can be easily verified one by the other.
>
> In the Journal that contains expenditures, the allocation is in the margins and [also] the page where the article of expenditure and the allocation have been written in the two registers of funds and expenditures, which are classified.
>
> The same thing [happens] in the Register of funds; that is to say the record of expenditures which have been allocated and which have the reference number of the register-journal and [of the register] the expenditures which have been mentioned. The same [is true] for the Register of expenditures; so that all three of these registers serve to control each other, and so that there can be no fault in one that cannot be justified by another.
>
> By this clear and easy method, His Majesty has placed in himself all his own security, and has reduced his reliance on those who have the honour to serve him in this function[73]

Colbert makes it clear that Louis's success at accounting is a product of his own effectiveness as a teacher. There is evidence that Louis took a strong interest in state accounts at the instigation of his accountant minister. In 1661, Louis wrote to his mother 'I have already begun to taste the pleasures to be found in working on finances myself, having, in the little attention I have given it, noted important matters that I could hardly make out at all, but no one should doubt that I will continue.'[74] Louis and Colbert corresponded constantly on questions of finance, with Colbert sending the king requests to be authorized.[75] Colbert would leave half a page of his letters to the king blank so that he could respond in the margins.

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[73] Ibid., pp. 44–5.

[74] Louis to Anne of Austria (1661), cited in Murat, *Colbert*, p. 69.

[75] For this correspondence see *Lettres*, vol. 2, part 1, pp. ccxxvi–cclvii.

Louis remained interested in financial minutiae into the 1670s, as shown by his response to a letter from Colbert complimenting him on forcing the provinces to pay excessive taxes, 'It is very agreeable to hear you speak of my finances in the way you do.'[76] Colbert and Louis often discussed figures and specifics, which Louis would verify and sign; but it is clear that, ultimately, he deferred to Colbert. In matters of finance, Louis mainy responded to Colbert in the margins of his letters, 'It is for you to judge what is best.'[77] Although at times Louis did give direct orders, his correspondence with Colbert shows that he usually left financial details to his minister.[78]

In spite of the fact that true double-entry bookkeeping was not employed at an official level, verification of the 'États de la Dépense et Recette du Trésor' (1662–1681) shows that a sophisticated form of state accounting emerged during Colbert's ministry. Louis, Colbert and other ministers of the Council of Finances – Séguier, Villeroy, D'Aligre and de Seve – signed off the tallied account books. If these final accounts were tallied in the presence of the king and his council, the more complex preliminary bookkeeping and verification was clearly done by Colbert for Louis. In any case, Colbert set up the books so that they would be easy to verify. These account books thus represent an ideal of kingly financial information handling that Colbert used to sell his talents to exhort Louis to become a *roi comptable*, which, to a certain extent, Louis did.

The Price of Monarchy: Louis XIV's Personal Account Books

Colbert's balancing act of reforming administration, informing himself and the king while also cementing his own power, was based on his giving the king the impression, real or not, that he was helping him master state dossiers. Colbert had to collect information and then find a way to present it to the king. If Colbert kept state account books and 100 thematic, administrative scrapbook folios, it was not simply to master information, but to be able to show Louis that he could do his job of recording and tallying data and making final reports.[79] Louis sometimes wanted to see Colbert's various compendia, but more often he simply wanted the final report.

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[76] Louis XIV, marginal notes in letter (24 May 1670); Colbert to Louis XIV (22 May 1670), ibid., p. ccxxviii.

[77] Colbert to Louis XIV (24 May 1673), with Louis's undated marginal responses in parentheses, ibid., p. ccxxxii.

[78] Colbert to Louis XIV (1 August 1673); Louis's response in the margins (3 August), ibid., p. ccxxxiv.

[79] For Colbert's administrative folios, see Charles de Le Roncière and Paul-M. Bondois (eds), *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Collection des Mélanges Colbert* (Paris, 1920), pp. 1–100.

As a good accountant, Colbert kept vast inventories, scrapbooks, journals and ledgers for each tax farmer, region, type of tax and royal expenditure. He maintained ledgers of state accounts, but he did not simply have Louis verify them. But what Colbert does not mention in his history of finance is that he also created a new pedagogical and practical tool never before used in the history of royal counsel. Colbert created for Louis pocket notebooks which were state ledgers and explanations of how accounts worked. Colbert made and kept the accounts and presented them to Louis in an easy-to-use pocket form. These notebooks are the most dramatic manifestation of how Colbert's handling of information turned into reports and pedagogical administrative tools for Louis XIV.

The Bibliothèque Nationale de France has 20 such notebooks under the headings 'Carnets de Louis XIV'.[80] During or after each fiscal year one or two were made for Louis, summing up various accounts and giving the final budget tally for the year. They are bound in red *maroquin* with gold titles, and held closed by two gold pop clasps. They measure about 15 × 6 cm and were made for Louis to keep in his pocket for easy reference. In the first edition from 1661 the manuscript writing is standard, on paper. However, it is clear that these simple ledgers were distasteful to Louis's sense of personal grandeur. If Louis was to carry account ledgers on his person, he would do so in a manner befitting the Sun King. Colbert therefore appears to have sought the services of renowned calligrapher Nicolas Jarry in creating handsome new vellum notebooks. The notebooks from 1669 onwards are richly adorned with illuminated frontispieces, and one from 1670 has a fleur-de-lys on the spine. After Jarry's death around 1674, the notebooks remained illuminated, and even simple accounts are written in gold and coloured paint and decorated with flowers reminiscent of his 1641 masterpiece, the *Guirlande de Julie*. Thus Colbert created ledgers fit for the Sun King, treasures in themselves, which Louis kept in his pocket and probably consulted during meetings with councillors and secretaries, as well as while examining state dispatches and Intendant reports.

Conclusion

Like his predecessors, as Controller-General of Finances Colbert kept ledgers, revenue and expenditure records and inventories of the king's wealth and holdings.[81] There also exist some of the scrapbook-style books described by Pacioli. Colbert's folio scrapbook, catalogued as 'Recueil de Finance de Colbert', is filled with *brouillons*, or scraps of various information – revenues, receipts, texts of feudal tax law, revenue from overseas companies, loan and expenditure receipts

[80] BNF Ms. Fr. 6769–91. The figures from the notebook for the year 1680 are reproduced in *Lettres*, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 771–82.

[81] See BNF Ms. Mélanges Colbert, pp. 311–17.

– all apparently thrown together in real time.[82] Most of the major account books were found in the same library complex as Colbert's more formal collections. Colbert's financial and political information collection played directly into his creation of account books for the king; only Colbert's collection was larger and more complex – as were his financial and industrial enterprises. Bigger business and bigger government meant more money, and thus more information. It was through Colbert's 'abridgements' of finance and reports on state matters that Louis had established his method of delegating the management of government and state information.

The notebooks were called different names, though they all meant the same thing: 'Abrégés' or 'Agendas de Finance', as Colbert called them, or 'registers', to use Louis's term. They not only listed expenditures and earnings, they also detailed and compared income from each tax farmer.[83] They gave final single-entry tallies of spending as compared with cash in hand.[84] They gave comparisons such as tax farmer income between 1661 and 1665 so Louis could see change over time. For example, the *Abrégé* of 1680 compares revenue between 1661 and 1680.[85] They would list all the revenue and all the names of the local accountants active in a given provincial capital or *pays d'état*. Some of the agendas contain inventories of purchases, such as the 'State of Acquisitions' from the *Abrégé* of 1671. Thus many of the data tables of Pacioli's accounting schemas formed the basis of Colbert's pocket reference books.

While humanist kings kept commonplace books of Tacitist and Livian maxims in their pockets, Louis carried Colbert's ledgers in his, with their golden, illuminated calligraphy. What is significant here to the history of knowledge and royal pedagogy is that the notebook and archiving culture of accounting moved ever closer to the central practices of royal statecraft. Louis mixed his traditional, late humanist education with the practical and legal knowledge that Colbert and his house scholars, Intendants and agents imparted to him. Humanist education was clearly useful, but it was not enough to run a state effectively. Diderot was not yet born. However, it was here, in the administrative project of Louis XIV and Jean-Baptiste Colbert that the idea emerged that practical knowledge from the shop floor and financial expertise were as useful as classical learning, and that, indeed, they could be used together. Most significantly, after Colbert's death in 1683 Louis stopped the notebooks, and indeed, ministers' use of Colbert's bookkeeping methods. Colbert's course of education therefore only had so much influence on the Sun King and his increasingly dark programme of politics. Colbert's expert approach would instead be taken up by Enlightened economic reformers bent on bringing both sound financial management and limits to the

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[82] BNF. Ms. Fr. 7753, 'Receuil de Finance de Colbert'.

[83] 'Abrégé des finances 1665', BNF Ms. Fr. 6771, fols 4v–7r.

[84] 'Abrégé des finances 1671', BNF Ms. Fr. 6777, final 'table'.

[85] Colbert, *Lettres*, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 771–83 contains all the figures from the agenda of 1680, albeit with no mention of their remarkable decoration.

mercantilist absolutism Colbert and Louis had sought. Yet this approach did not work for Louis XIV. By introducing accounting as an administrative modus operandi, he also introduced the suggestion of accountability. This was not a tool of absolutism; it was an indication of its eventual downfall in France.

Chapter 8
Confessional Cultures and Sacred Space: Towards a History of Political Communication in Early Modern Switzerland

Daniela Hacke

Introduction

In May 1666, the Protestant pastor of the small biconfessional Swiss village of Würenlos issued an astonishing letter. Carefully drafted, it described precisely the means by which the village church was to be used by the Catholic minority and the Protestant majority of villagers for their daily worship.[1] This religious coexistence would have lasting consequences for the church's spatial and visual arrangements and organization. The pastor's description of the church interior underlined the fact that the parish church used by both confessions was a highly fashioned space with regard to its specific use for confession and the religious procedures of the Catholic and Reformed clergy and their congregations. Changes in the liturgical arrangement of the church space thus bore the potential for conflict, as happened in 1666. During renovation of the parish church one painting was removed from the sounding board over the pulpit and another from the high altar; both were then hung in the nave 'before the very eyes' of the Protestant congregation. The Protestant pastor was upset, since he wished the nave to remain clean, without pictures.[2] In order to settle the conflict, the agreement on dividing up the church was renegotiated.[3] Following an inspection of its interior it was decided that the church's size and design allowed for the installation of a grille that would separate the choir from the nave.[4] The choir was assigned to the Catholic congregation; for them, with their focus on the sacred – high altar, relics, paintings – the choir

[1] Staatsarchiv Zürich (henceforth StAZH), E I 30.90: Pfrundakten Otelfingen/Würenlos, unfoliated, 14 May 1666.

[2] This is not to suggest that the Reformed religion was especially rational. The colour white could indeed suggest a 'specific symbolic sacrality of the Reformed church space'; see Ulinka Rublack, *Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 174–5.

[3] StAZH E I 30.90: Pfrundakten Otelfingen/Würenlos, unfoliated, 19/29 May 1666.

[4] StAZH A. 315.3 Gemeine Herrschaften. Politisches Grafschaft Baden (1665–1695), fol. 33r–v, 4 June 1666: project to install a choir grille. In an intra-confessional communication, the Reformed administrator Escher gave a different assessment of the

area of a church already held a special status in the early modern period. The detailed post-Tridentine regulations on church furnishing stated explicitly that the choir should be 'adorned with worthy paintings' and 'separated by gates from the place where the ordinary people assemble'.[5] The two altars (which had previously stood outside the choir), the Catholic baptismal font and the paintings could appropriately be installed there.[6] The nave was to be left to the Protestant congregation – 'quite clean', with no pictorial ornaments – and in future kept free of Catholic religious objects. Since its installation in 1642, the baptismal font for the Protestant villagers had been on the left side in front of the choir.[7] A wooden pulpit used by both clerics to proclaim the word of God was also placed on the left side of the nave at the choir wall. Helped by this differentiation of sacred space within a single church building, the biconfessional use of Würenlos church continued with no further conflicts. The negotiations and careful (re)organization of the sacred space had thus re-established peaceful religious coexistence in a period of general confessional tension in the Swiss Confederation.[8]

In view of a historiography that emphasizes religious coexistence and confessional differences mainly in terms of violence and conflict, the sharing of a highly specific and limited space such as a church interior by Catholics and Protestants appears remarkable. Recent publications on this topic do show that religion and violence were in many ways intertwined. We encounter religiously motivated violence in the confessional wars and in martyrdoms; in compulsory conversions and in the persecution of Jews; in iconoclasms, Inquisition and missions. Such violence has been depicted and interpreted on numerous frescoes, in woodcuts and pamphlets, and in spiritual plays (*geistliche Spiele*).[9] From the 1970s onwards, historians working on the 'religious wars' of sixteenth-century France have shown how the rival beliefs of Protestants and Catholics fashioned different cultures and led to hostility. Inspired by cultural anthropogists such as Mary Douglas, who has taught us to think of religion as a symbol system that

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situation. In a letter to Zurich's mayor and town council he reported that things would become rather 'tight' for the Catholics in the choir; ibid., fol. 32r–v, 7 June 1666.

[5] Susanne Mayer-Himmelheber, *Bischöfliche Kunstpolitik nach dem Tridentinum. Der Secunda-Roma-Anspruch Carlo Borromeos und die mailändischen Verordnungen zu Bau und Ausstattung von Kirchen* (Munich, 1984), pp. 110–11; Wilhelm Brüschweiler, *Die landfriedlichen Simultanverhältnisse im Thurgau* (Frauenfeld, 1931), pp. 95–6.

[6] StAZH A. 315.3: Gemeine Herrschaften Politisches Grafschaft Baden, fol. 33r–v, 4 June 1666.

[7] StAZH E I 30.90: Pfrundakten Otelfingen/Würenlos, 14 May 1666 and StAZH A. 315.3 Gemeine Herrschaften, fol. 33r–v, 4 June 1666.

[8] On Swiss politics during the seventeenth century, see Peter Stadler, 'Das Zeitalter der Gegenreformation', in *Handbuch der Schweizer Geschichte* (Zurich, 1980), pp. 571–670.

[9] Kaspar von Greyerz and Kim Siebenhüner (eds), *Religion und Gewalt. Konflikte, Rituale, Deutungen (1500–1800)* (Göttingen, 2006), p. 9.

imbues social life with meaning,[10] the historiography of sixteenth-century France has since then highlighted the warring cultures of Catholics and Huguenots as shaped by religion.[11] Keith P. Luria, however, has recently questioned the self-evidence of the assumption that 'violence appears so inevitably the result of religious difference'.[12] As Luria shows in his inspiring book on religious coexsistence and conflict in early modern France, peaceful coexistence between two religious groups that appear riven by confessional strife was far from exceptional and people of competing faiths often did get along in daily life[13] – an observation that in a different historiographical context has been made by the less cultural-anthropologically inspired works on religious coexistence and conflict in the Holy Roman Empire as well.[14] In order to explain the process by which Catholics and Protestants in France 'tried to construct a means to live together' Luria drew attention to the tensions between coexistence and conflict. According to Luria, historians have to explain how both coexistence and conflict were possible at the same time.[15]

By drawing closer attention to a specific form of religious coexistence such as the simultaneous use of village churches (*Simultaneum*), this chapter seeks to give an insight into the tensions between coexistence and conflict in early modern Switzerland. As will be shown, peaceful religious coexistence was the outcome of political communication and continually negotiated on a local level and in Swiss politics. While there is scant documentary evidence of religious disputes in and over Swiss church space in the sixteenth century, as Catholic and Protestant confessionalization progressed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries a number of confessional conflicts were inflamed by liturgical and visual changes in sacred space. The historian Frauke Volkland has

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[10] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (Harmondsworth, 1966) and *Natural Symbols* (New York, 1973); also Clifford Geertz, 'Religion as a Cultural System' and 'Deep Play: Notes on a Balinese Cockfight', both in his *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973).

[11] Leopold von Ranke (and others) had approached the period of religious strife as essentially political. See the historiographical overwiew by David Sabean, 'Reading Sixteenth Century Religious Violence', in von Greyerz and Siebenhüner, *Religion und Gewalt*, pp. 109–23.

[12] Keith P. Luria, *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early Modern France* (Washington DC, 2005), p. xiii.

[13] Ibid., pp. xiii–xiv.

[14] Historians studying the free cities of the Holy Roman Empire where Protestants and Catholics enjoyed equal rights have shown that confessional differences were often mediated by economic interests. See for example Etienne François, *Die unsichtbare Grenze. Protestanten und Katholiken in Augsburg 1648–1806* (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp. 140–42, and Peter Zschunke, *Konfession und Alltag in Oppenheim. Beiträge zur Geschichte von Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft einer gemischtkonfessionellen Kleinstadt in der frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1984), pp. 99–100.

[15] Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, pp. xiv–xvi.

used religious strife in a biconfessional Swiss city to question the paradigm of confessionalization as developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s by Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhardt (especially its teleological orientation, its macrohistorical perspective and the claim that Protestant and Catholic confessions were clearly defined entities after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648).[16] However, I am interested here in exploring the process of confessionalization in terms of its cultural dimensions. The refashioning of church space not only accomplished an act of confessionalization; it simultaneously altered the material culture of the church interior and thus also the way in which both congregations could use the church for their services. I will show that the refashioning of sacred space created the potential for conflict since liturgical space in a biconfessional region was important for the construction of confessional identities. Furthermore, it triggered larger constitutional and confessional tensions within the Swiss Confederation. However, as I will argue, the political disputes that followed the refashioning of church space were a stabilizing factor within the political culture of the Swiss Confederation. By looking at individual communicative acts we can reconstruct the very process of political negotiation and thus see how religious coexistence was built on daily interaction and politics. Peaceful religious coexistence was not an easy achievement, but rather the result of long and sometimes tedious political settlements and negotiations. It had to be achieved first and then maintained, since religious coexistence was not a state, but a process.

This chapter brings together two important trends in contemporary research on early modern German history: the analysis of various social and cultural processes, including political negotiations and confessional conflicts in terms of communication processes; and the cultural dimensions of phenomena that in the 1980s and 1990s were viewed mainly through the lens of confessionalization. Thus I attempt to combine the hitherto (almost) unrelated historical fields of 'space'[17]

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[16] Frauke Volkland, most prominently in her *Konfession und Selbstverständnis. Reformierte Rituale in der gemischtkonfessionellen Kleinstadt Bischofzell im 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2005), and in an earlier article 'Konfessionelle Grenzen zwischen Auflösung und Verhärtung. Bikonfessionelle Gemeinden in der Gemeinen Vogtei Thurgau (CH) des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Historische Anthropologie*, 3 (1997): 370–87.

[17] Recent publications on sacred space in early modern Europe explore the numerous cultural, political, religious, sacral and social dimensions of sacred space during and after the Reformation and Catholic Reform. See Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (eds), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005); Susanne Wegmann and Gabriele Wimböck (eds), *Konfessionen im Kirchenraum. Dimensionen des Sakralraums in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Korb, 2007); Susanne Rau and Gerd Schwerhoff (eds), *Zwischen Gotteshaus und Taverne. Öffentliche Räume in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2004); and Rau and Schwerhoff (eds), *Topographien des Sakralen. Religion und Raumordung in der Vormoderne* (Munich and Hamburg, 2008). On urban space, see Peter Burke, 'Public and Private Spheres in Late Renaissance Genoa', in Burke (ed.), *Varieties of Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 111–23, as well as chapters 12–14 in his *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge, 1987).

and 'communication'[18] during the age of confessionalization. At the same time, I am taking account of the fact that the sources consist primarily of correspondence between the local and Swiss authorities, and that it is thus mainly from communications about church space that we learn something about their material character.[19] I am aided here by a sociologically inspired concept that does not understand communication primarily as a medium for the transfer of information, but rather marks the dual contingency of communication as a three-part selection process of information, impartation and understanding. Communication hence is not devoted chiefly to the manufacture of consent (or dissent), but itself manufactures difference and is thereby fundamentally contingent.[20] Such a perspective stresses the potential contingency of communication, which can only be controlled to a limited extent by motives, intentions or strategies. At the same time, communication takes place within an established social order and a specific action space (*Handlungsraum*) – factors that in turn serve to manage contingency and help shape communication and social order.[21] Communication consequently also encompasses action,[22] thus rendering obsolete the distinction usually made in cultural studies between representation and historical reality, since language itself is taken seriously in its capacity to create and not merely reproduce meaning. The methodological advantage of this position, which shifts away from a cultural studies view of the way in which the world is represented in language, cannot be overstated.[23]

In order to take the political language of the seventeenth century seriously, it is worth examining the contents of communication beyond a reconstruction of

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[18] For an introduction to the historical field of communication, see the online review journal *Sehepunkte*, 4/9 (2004), especially Rudolf Schlögl's 'Perspektiven kommunikationsgeschichtlicher Forschung'; http://www.sehepunkte.de/ (10 September 2008). For a cultural-historical perspective on the political field, see Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger (ed.), *Was heißt Kulturgeschichte des Politischen?* Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung, Beiheft 35 (Berlin, 2005). On the question of what cultural history is and what cultural historians do, see Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge, 2004). The categories of 'space' and 'communication' are productively combined in a number of contributions in Renate Dürr and Gerd Schwerhoff (eds), *Kirchen, Märkte und Tavernen. Erfahrungs- und Handlungsräume in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Zeitsprünge. Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit, 9 (Frankfurt/Main, 2005).

[19] For a discussion of the sources, see below.

[20] Niklas Luhmann, 'What is Communication?', in William Rasch (ed.), *Theories of Distinction: Redescribing the Description of Modernity* (Stanford, 2002), pp. 155–68.

[21] Schlögl, 'Perspektiven'. On the church interior as a political action space, see Renate Dürr, *Politische Kultur in der Frühen Neuzeit. Kirchenräume in Hildesheimer Stadt- und Landgemeinden 1550–1750* (Göttingen, 2006).

[22] Niklas Luhmann, *Soziale Systeme* (Frankfurt/Main, 1984), p. 227.

[23] See Rudolf Schlögl, 'Bedingungen dörflicher Kommunikation. Gemeindliche Öffentlichkeit und Visitation im 16. Jahrhundert', in Werner Rösener (ed.), *Kommunikation in der ländlichen Gesellschaft* (Göttingen, 2000), pp. 260–61.

the media and forms of communication. Only a content analysis of the individual communicative acts reveals the degree to which Swiss politics constituted a communicative practice in the course of which confession-specific liturgical (re)arrangements were articulated for the church interiors used by both Protestants and Catholics, and during which peaceful religious coexistence was established.[24] Before I turn to a detailed analysis of communication on church space, let me first introduce the norms and modes of political communication and the forms of biconfessionalism in early modern Switzerland.

Political Communication and Biconfessionalism in the Swiss Confederation

The biconfessional use of Würenlos church (as related at the beginning of this chapter) was by no means a peculiarity – on the contrary. With the spread of the Reformation and of Catholic reform in the Swiss Confederation, biconfessional communities evolved in those territories jointly governed by the Swiss Catholic and Reformed states (*Orte*, the precursors to the cantons). The first of these so-called *Gemeine Herrschaften* ('shared lordships' or 'mandated territories') came into the possession of the Swiss Confederation with the military occupation of the Eschental in 1410 and 1415 with the conquest of the county of Baden (*Grafschaft Baden*); other territories soon followed.[25] When the Confederation split along denominational lines, this already complex joint form of governance became even more difficult to operate as the separate Confederates went their different confessional ways. The county of Baden, the area of interest here, was ruled by the three Reformed states of Zurich, Berne and Glarus, which possessed greater political and economic strength than the five co-governing Catholic states of Schwyz, Uri, Lucerne, Zug and Unterwalden. Every two years the governing states sent an administrator (*Landvogt*) of alternating confession to these (and other) shared lordships. He was in charge of a community in which Protestant subjects were in the minority and Catholics the majority.[26] The Baden *Landvogt* possessed important powers – for example, as the county's highest

[24] On the understanding of politics in the early modern period as a communicative process, see the fundamental work of Rudolf Schlögl, 'Vergesellschaftung unter Anwesenden. Zur kommunikativen Form des Politischen in der vormodernen Stadt', in Schlögl (ed.), *Interaktion und Herrschaft. Die Politik der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt* (Konstanz, 2004), pp. 9–60, especially 11–12; see also Markus Neumann and Ralf Pröve (eds), *Herrschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit. Umrisse eines dynamisch-kommunikativen Prozesses*, Herrschaft und soziale Systeme, 2 (Münster, 2004).

[25] See André Holenstein, 'Gemeine Herrschaften', in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, online at http://hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D9817.php (10 September 2008).

[26] In the county of Baden, despite successful re-Catholicization, some communes retained Reformed majorities (e.g. Gebenstorf, Schlieren, Tegerfelden, Würenlos, Weiningen und Zurzach), while in others Reformed minorities survived.

political official he exerted supreme legal authority within the shared lordship. But he was far from being sovereign. His administrative and political decision-making was subject to the control of the eight Confederate states that governed this *Gemeine Herrschaft*.

In other words, the eight Confederates were the most powerful authority in the county of Baden. In the mandated territories they operated not as individual sovereign entities, but as co-regents. They conducted government business at the Swiss Diet (*Tagsatzung*), an assembly of representatives that took place three times a year on average in the period after the Reformation and made up the political body of the Swiss Confederation. Extra separate Catholic and Protestant assemblies were also convened (*Sondertagsatzungen*).[27]

In contrast to customary practice in the early modern period, it was a structural feature of the governance of the shared lordships that the governing Confederates did not communicate with each other face to face. Rather, the political culture and the shaping of social order within the Confederation were heavily influenced by the medium of writing. In part, communication took the form of 'instructions' (*Instruktionen*) and 'recesses' (*Abschiede*) produced in connection with the Swiss Diet. The envoys, who represented the political opinion and followed the orders of their states when conflicts arose at the Diet sessions, received their instructions in writings outlining topics to be discussed and indicating the goals to be achieved. If the envoys had no instructions, then the business in question had to be 'brought home' or referred to consultation, and further negotiations had to await the convening of a new Diet, by which time instructions would have become available. In contrast to the instructions, which specified the topics for negotiation and spelled out political goals that had to be achieved by the envoys, the recesses were records of political communication. They were drafted at the end of a session by the clerk of the Confederate state holding the Diet and given to the individual envoys; they were then brought home by the envoys – that is, passed on to the relevant political state, such as Zurich, Berne or Lucerne. As the pace of diplomatic communication within the Confederation increased in the late fifteenth century, the recesses also took on the function of structuring political

[27] For an overview of how this institution operated, see Niklaus Bütikofer, 'Zur Funktion und Arbeitsweise der eidgenössischen Tagsatzung zu Beginn der frühen Neuzeit', *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, 13 (1986): 15–41, and 'Konfliktregulierung auf den Eidgenössischen Tagsatzungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts', *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, 11 (1991): 103–15; Andreas Würgler, 'Die Tagsatzung der Eidgenossen. Spontane Formen politischer Repräsentation im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit', in Peter Blickle (ed.), *Landschaften und Landstände in Oberschwaben. Bäuerliche und bürgerliche Repräsentation im Rahmen des frühen europäischen Parlamentarismus* (Tübingen, 2000), pp. 99–117; and Michael Jucker, *Gesandte, Schreiber, Akten. Politische Kommunikation auf eidgenössischen Tagsatzungen im Spätmittelalter* (Zurich, 2004).

communication, serving to organize and impose written form on the political debates at the Diet, albeit in a selective and synthesizing fashion.[28]

In addition to the written material generated by the Swiss Diet, an intensive system of correspondence developed. In the course of religious disputes in the shared lordships, countless missives passed among the ruling states. Occasionally, events were also recorded in a memorandum (*Memoriale*) or the complaints of Protestant and Catholic congregations were conveyed by clerics to the council and city of Zurich and Lucerne respectively. This correspondence network included not only the supreme authorities but also the administrator of Baden and the officials and priests of the individual parishes; in the archives we encounter these individuals in their roles as reporters to, and recipients of orders from, the Confederate authorities. This political communication had three main functions in this territory: to convey information; to articulate official instructions; and to manufacture confessional difference between the local and Swiss authorities.

Together with the actual business conducted by the Diet, the hierarchical written traffic not only described but also formed the basis of political practice of the form of governance that was shared lordship. The many political facets of these forms of communication illuminate the ways in which the different levels of authority functioned within shared lordships. And the sources as a whole (missives, instructions, recesses and reports) not only provide testimony to these functions in a formal sense, but also give us a range of insights into the practicalities of rule and the ways in which the denominations sought to exert authority in the shared lordships – territories that still await investigation.[29] This in turn tells us about denominational conceptions of meaning and order in the co-regent Confederate states. Crucial to the political communication were the legal regulations governing biconfessionality in the shared lordships that were laid down in the *Landfrieden* of 1531, a treaty that concluded the second war of Kappel on 20 November 1531 between the Swiss Confederation's Catholic and Reformed states.[30] With its seven clauses, the second article of which formulated the rights and duties of Catholic and Reformed subjects in the jointly ruled territories, the *Landfrieden* was a somewhat vague agreement. While mapping out the framework for interconfessional

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[28] Jucker, *Gesandte*, pp. 168 and 173 ff.

[29] See, however, Randolph Head, 'Shared Lordship, Authority, and Administration: The Exercise of Dominion in the *Gemeine Herrschaften* of the Swiss Confederation, 1417–1600', *Central European History*, 30 (1997): 489–512 and Head, 'Fragmented Dominion, Fragmented Churches: The Institutionalization of the Landfrieden in the Thurgau, 1531–1610', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 96 (2005): 117–44.

[30] The principal agreement was the treaty between Zurich and the five Catholic states, concluded on 16 November and sealed on 20 November 1531. The treaty of 24 November between Berne and the five Catholic states, expanded to deal with reparations, incorporated the articles of the *Landfrieden* of 20 November 1531 and was, in turn, the basis for the treaties with Basle (22 December 1531) and Schaffhausen (31 January 1532); see Ernst Walder (ed.), *Religionsvergleiche des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berne, 1945), p. 5.

cooperation, it also left legal gaps and ambiguities that created the basis for future political disputes over religious conflicts and the forms of coexistence.[31]

To a certain extent the second *Landfrieden* of 1531 reproduced the confessional differences that as a 'public [*landt*] and religious peace' (to use its contemporary title) it was intended to reconcile, inasmuch as it institutionalized the Protestants' disadvantageous position in the mandated territories. It did so in three respects.[32] First, with regard to the right of conversion, for the treaty accorded subjects in the shared lordships only the right to convert to Catholicism, not to Protestantism. Second – and connected with this – with regard to the protection of minorities, for only Catholic subjects in the biconfessional village and town societies of the shared lordships could claim the right to celebrate mass even if they lived among the Protestant majority.[33] This privilege, together with the right of conversion guaranteed to Catholics in villages that had converted almost wholesale to the Reformed faith, meant that after 1531 Catholic congregations retained the liturgical use of parish churches that had been taken over by Protestants. Thus it was critical to the establishment of a *simultaneum reale* that the church building in question should be in Protestant hands at the moment when the *Landfrieden* came into effect.

In the first decade after the conclusion of the second *Landfrieden* a large number of biconfessional churches emerged in the wake of Catholic confessionalization after the Council of Trent (1545–1563).[34] They provided innovative but complex solutions for religious coexistence and were later taken over in the Holy Roman Empire after the peace of Augsburg (1555), and for a time in parts of France.[35] Henceforth, minority rights in Switzerland could be protected only where the majority was Reformed, since after 1531 the unilateral right of conversion criminalized conversion to the Protestant faith.[36]

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[31] According to Randolph C. Head, the *Landfrieden* represented 'neither a formal organisation nor a body of explicit rules, but rather a framework for conflict and coexistence that distributed opportunities for action and decision among a wide variety of actors', 'Fragmented Dominion', pp. 118–19. For a legalistic reading of the *Landfrieden* see Konrad Straub, *Rechtsgeschichte der evangelischen Kirchgemeinden der Landschaft Thurgau unter dem eidgenössischen Landfrieden (1529–1798)* (Frauenfeld, 1902).

[32] Without treating the *Landfrieden* as a whole here, I will discuss only those aspects significant in connection with Swiss communication about church space.

[33] The treaty did not lay down minimum numbers. See Walder, *Religionsvergleiche*, p. 9 (e).

[34] See Brüschweiler, *Die landfriedlichen Simultanverhältnisse*, p. 81.

[35] Andreas Würgler, 'Eidgenossenschaft: Konfessionalisierung und Ende (1515–1798)', in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, online http://hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D26413-1-4.php.

[36] Actual legal practice remains to be studied. Conversion to Catholicism did not suffice to demand the reintroduction of mass. This wish also had to be presented to the authorities. See Brüschweiler, *Die landsfriedlichen Simultanverhältnisse*, pp. 76 and 78 and, on minority rights, p. 20.

Finally, in its sections governing religious coexistence in the Swiss Confederation, which were orientated towards the needs of the Catholic congregations and their clergy, the *Landfrieden* structurally disadvantaged Protestant subjects with regard to the rights of Reformed congregations to use and fashion church buildings shared by both confessions and – in conjunction with this – with regard to the clergy's religious actions. All this was despite legal recognition of the practice of the Reformed faith. On the one hand the *Landfrieden* merely protected the religious status quo for Protestant subjects at the time of the treaty, without permitting the expansion of or changes to religious worship. At the same time it allowed the Catholic parties to make such changes to church interiors.[37] On the other hand, the Catholics only conceded the right of Reformed congregations to fashion church space provided it did not obstruct the religious actions of the Catholic congregation and clergy.[38] Both arguments –of 'innovation' and of 'obstruction' – became important rhetorical aspects in political communication between local and Swiss Confederate authorities. In communications about Swiss church space, the text of the *Landfrieden* became a basic authority in religious legal disputes, to which opposing parties referred in order to articulate and then enforce their confession-specific interests and claims to church space. Through this process of legal interpretation, the *Landfrieden* was constantly being developed, so that by the mid-seventeenth century the text of the treaty had become a body of law with which the disputing confessional parties associated concrete legal practices and expectations.[39]

Aside from the legal discrimination against Protestants in the shared lordships enshrined in the *Landfrieden*, which took on significance in religious coexistence at the local level, this affected the political latitude available to the Reformed states in Swiss politics and thus also the possibility of exerting political influence on church space. In the administration of the shared lordships the majority principle prevailed, and thus also the principle that the minority had to follow the majority's political decisions.[40] However, because the city of Zurich had rejected the majority principle in religious matters since the Reformation,[41] and also

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[37] This interpretation of the *Landfrieden* follows L.R. von Salis, *Die Entwicklung der Kultusfreiheit in der Schweiz* (Basle, 1894), p. 3. See also Straub, *Rechtsgeschichte*, pp. 83–4 and Brüschweiler, *Die landfriedlichen Simultanverhältnisse*, p. 96.

[38] To this extent the Protestant – in contrast to Catholic – right of use represented a right 'over which mainly people other than its actual repository were authorized to make decisions'. Brüschweiler, *Die landfriedlichen Simultanverhältnisse*, pp. 85–6.

[39] Cf. Head, 'Fragmented Dominions', p. 119.

[40] In matters affecting the 13-state Swiss Confederation, resolutions had to be unanimous. A simple majority was sufficient only in business affecting the administration of the shared lordships. See Hans Conrad Peyer, *Verfassungsgeschichte der alten Schweiz* (Zurich, 1978), pp. 31–2.

[41] Key studies are Ferdinand Elsener, 'Zur Geschichte des Majoritätsprinzips (Pars maior und Pars sanior), insbesondere nach schweizerischen Quellen', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-*

sought to realize its own power interests in and around church space outside the context of the Swiss Diet, these principles were diluted in political practice. As in the legal interpretation of the *Landfrieden*, this occurred through the medium of communication, as we shall see.

Contentious Liturgical Objects: The Installation of the Font in Würenlos

A few decades before the project to divide the church in Würenlos was devised, changing the interior of the church was already a topic of communication among certain local and Swiss authorities in the county of Baden.[42] The communicative acts expressed (divergent) confessional notions of the liturgical arrangement of church space. This process of 'making' confessional differences is best illustrated by pointing to the attempts to remodel the liturgical interior of Würenlos parish church in 1642, attempts which initiated a process of religious dispute that would assume serious proportions. Catholics were responsible for most of the communications in this religious dispute. This impression arises not least from the report of 24 June 1642 by the Catholic priest Bernhard Keller who, after informing the Catholic administrator Sebastian Müller in Baden, penned a detailed account of events in Würenlos church. Thus this case also allows us to turn our attention to goings-on in the community and to the adoption of the *Landfrieden* by the Reformed Protestant and Catholic priests.[43]

According to Father Keller's report the problem began with the removal of the pulpit from the nave. This piece of liturgical furniture, fashioned from three ashlars, had stood 'from time immemorial' under the choir arch 'in the middle', and was used by Catholic and Reformed clerics alike. When a new wooden pulpit was attached to the left wall of the choir, the Reformed preacher Felix Tobler is said to have expressed to the congregation or sexton his astonishment that the pulpit in front of the choir (which was no longer used), had not been removed. According to a count by the Reformed pastor in 1656, the congregation consisted of 458 Protestants and 213 Catholics,[44] for whom seats had already been installed

Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung, 42 (1956): 73–116 and 560–570, and 'Das Majoritätsprinzip in konfessionellen Angelegenheiten und die Religionsverträge der Eidgenossenschaft vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung*, 55 (1969): 238–81.

[42] A longer (German) discussion of this case study appeared in Rau and Schwerhoff (eds), *Topographien des Sakralen*, pp. 280–305.

[43] Staatsarchiv Aarau, Älteres Archiv (henceforth StAAG AA), 2819/11: Würenlos 1638–1647, fol. 24r–v, 1 June 1642. Father Bernhard Keller of Lucerne looked after the Catholic congregation in 1633–1648. StAZH, EII 700: 78 (1634–1709), and Witschi, *Ortsgeschichte Würenlos* (Baden, 1984), pp. 666–8.

[44] If one includes the communes of Oetlikon, Hüttikon and Oetwil. StAZH E II 700: 78.

in the nave. The removal of the pulpit thus promised both congregations additional needed space.[45]

According to the Catholic Keller, the Reformed cleric announced his desire for this 'innovation' on the holy feast of Easter, of all times. On this high holiday he approached his Catholic colleague – in the presence of the churchwarden (*Kirchpfleger*), the high bailiff (*Ammann*) and a Protestant judge – with the request that Keller put in a good word for him with the abbot of Wettingen, who as patron and landlord possessed the rights of collature in Würenlos as Tobler 'wished for a baptismal font of his own in order to establish greater harmony'. Since the Catholic priest was in principle a conventual of Wettingen Abbey, he knew the abbot personally, a fact that the Reformed pastor hoped would positively affect the outcome of their conversation. Tobler also provided Keller with the key arguments since, he reportedly claimed, in other places where Protestants and Catholics shared a church it was common for the Protestants to have their own baptismal font.

The installation of baptismal fonts in other parish churches in Baden had not merely altered the church interiors, but had also become rhetorical points of reference for further changes in consecrated space to which (at least according to Tobler) the term 'innovations' did not apply because of previous rearrangements of sacred space.[46] For Catholic and Reformed clerics alike, the *Landfrieden* of 1531 provided the discussion framework – and both Keller and Tobler were familiar with the basic contents and confession-specific modes of interpreting this text. With the key word 'innovation', Keller invoked the decisive (Catholic) argument against changes to the church interior, while Tobler skilfully parried that the only novelties were those that were not common in other places and thus already religious practice. Moreover, the baptismal font would help establish greater harmony in the biconfessional community, the equal treatment of Reformed and Catholic villagers being a tested method for the preservation of peaceful religious coexistence.

Keller assured his Catholic superiors that he did not accept this argument. After all, what was at stake was explaining how a baptismal font had come to be in the church at Würenlos without the consent of the governing states. The remark that 'a gracious lord in Wettingen could not approve this, but would have to pass it on' points to the power structures in the shared lordship.[47] Tobler was dissatisfied with this explanation and continued to press Keller to petition the abbot for a new

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[45] StAAG AA, 2819/11: Würenlos 1638–1647, fol. 31, 24 June 1642.

[46] In the county of Baden, these events were the installation of baptismal fonts in Zurzach (1605/1606) and Dietikon (1615); on events in Zurzach, see Daniela Hacke, 'Church, Space and Conflict: Religious Co-Existence and Political Communication in Seventeenth-Century Switzerland', *German History*, 25 (2007): 285–312. The installation of the baptismal font in Dietikon is discussed in Hacke, 'Der Kirchenraum als politischer Handlungsraum. Konflikte um die liturgische Ausstattung von Dorfkirchen in der Eidgenossenschaft der Frühen Neuzeit', in Wegmann and Wimböck, *Konfessionen im Kirchenraum*, pp. 137–57.

[47] StAAG AA 1819/11: Würenlos 1638–1647, fol. 31v, 24 June 1642.

baptismal font. Keller told him in no uncertain terms that this was 'an innovation that could not be introduced without permission from the higher authorities, and that the preacher should wait until St John's Day (24 June) and then present his case to the venerable representatives of the governing states.[48] At least at the time of writing, the Catholic priest was very well informed about legal jurisdiction in matters of changes to church space. He knew not only which body to petition about the liturgical rearrangement of the church interior, namely the Swiss Diet, but also when it met – 24 June. As regards legal jurisdiction over church space, Keller also had something to learn, and he presented this new knowledge as a matter of course in his report. Keller had acceded to the requests of his Reformed parish colleague and petitioned the abbot of Wettingen for a new baptismal font for the Protestant congregation. The abbot referred him to the administrator in Baden, *Landvogt* Müller,[49] who ordered Keller to tell Tobler to discuss this matter with the envoys of the Swiss Confederation.[50] Father Keller conveyed the administrator's ban on installing the baptismal font to Pastor Tobler. The latter now knew that he had to present his case to the next Diet, and he was also adequately apprised of the political and legal procedures and jurisdictions. And yet Tobler continued to envision a baptismal font for his congregation and to pressurize Keller to give his consent, whereupon Keller assured him that he would not oppose a new font in the church if the 'high authorities' permitted it.

Keller's response encouraged Tobler, who subsequently asked him where the new baptismal font could be erected as 'place' (*Ort*) and space (*Raum*) were distinct categories.[51] This concretized the hypothetical conversations about the liturgical object, which was now assigned a specific place in the church. Keller reported that he 'made a sign on the floor on the left side before the choir … never thinking that he was undertaking anything impermissible'.[52] Keller then distanced himself from all further goings on in his parish and gave the Reformed cleric sole responsibility for ensuing events. On 30 May 1642 Keller received an unexpected visit from Tobler, who asked him to unlock his garden gate to allow him and the stonemason free access to the church (its location meant crossing the Catholic priest's garden to gain entry). The gate was duly opened and Tobler and the stonemason entered the church and set up the new font for Würenlos's Reformed congregation on the exact spot that Keller had marked with a sign.[53]

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48 Ibid.

49 StAZH E I 30. 90: Pfrundakten Otelfingen/Würenlos, fol. 73r, undated.

50 Ibid.

51 On this semantic distinction, see Martina Löw, 'Vor Ort – im Raum. Ein Kommentar', in Dürr and Schwerhoff (eds), *Kirchen, Märkte und Tavernen*, pp. 445–9, esp. 446–7, where she points to the absence in historical research of theorizing about place as 'a space and the place as a basis', which is necessary, since the two aspects intermingle in empirical analysis.

52 StAAG AA, 2819/11: Würenlos 1638–1647, 24 June 1642, here fols 31v–32r.

53 Ibid, fol. 32r.

All of this occurred without the knowledge of the governing states and the Catholic administrator. On learning what had happened,[54] the *Landvogt* summoned Pastor Tobler to Baden, to issue a 'strong reprimand' (*starckhen verweis*) to him and the Catholic priest. As the highest official in the county of Baden, the administrator was responsible for maintaining social order, which included condemning conduct that violated accepted norms. Undeterred by the reprimand, Tobler took advantage of the situation to negotiate a compromise. After pointing out that the Reformed congregation had no opportunity to perform christenings in their own baptismal font, he entreated the administrator not to remove the new font as planned, but to await 'the arrival of the lord mayor' – doubtless a reference to the mayor of Zurich.[55] Tobler adroitly requested a postponement as he wished to discuss the contested baptismal font with the mayor and then inform the administrator of the outcome of their conversation. That Tobler expected support for his request from the Reformed authorities of Zurich underlines the extent to which perceptions of power relations from 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' were structured by confessional affiliation. In cases of religious dispute, confession was a key factor in creating trust between subjects and authorities.

The administrator agreed to this deal, probably – although this is only speculation – because the mayor of Zurich, as a member of the governing states, represented the 'high' authorities that the administrator was supposed to represent in Baden. When news of the conversation between the mayor and the pastor was not forthcoming, however, the administrator summoned the two clerics to Baden once more, 'confronted them with the matter again in all seriousness' and ordered them to restore the church interior 'to its previous condition'. A threat soon followed. The administrator, as we will learn in more detail below, had been admonished in the meantime by the Catholic states for his behaviour in not penalizing Tobler and his colleague. Consequently his report now emphasized that he had informed the two clerics that he 'could not allow such impudence to go unpunished' – thereby expressing his standing as a high political official of Baden. While the Catholic priest proved obedient by the Catholic administrator's account, and wished to return the pulpit to its old location, the report suggests a subversive and disobedient Reformed cleric, who resisted the orders of the Catholic administrator.[56]

In the matter of this unauthorized installation of a baptismal font, the confession-specific paths of communication marked political practice and communication. The Catholic priest Keller quickly informed the Catholic administrator Müller in Baden, behaving in accordance with the established principles of rule in the shared lordships. The fact that the administrator in 1642 was a Catholic may have made it easier for him to fulfil his duty to report to the highest official in the county. The confession-specific nature of this

54 Probably from the Catholic priest; ibid., fol. 32v.

55 StAZH E I 30.90: Pfrundakten Otelfingen/Würenlos, undated, fols 73v–74r.

56 Ibid., fol.74r.

communicative act then became evident in the administrator's decision to report events in the church at Würenlos to the Catholic estate of Lucerne, but not to the Reformed state of Zurich. This report informed Lucerne briefly and concisely of the interventions in the material culture of the church space; it also sketched a portrait of a refractory Reformed pastor and told of Catholic circumspection, responsibility and rectitude.

Lucerne lost no time in fulfilling its duty as the most powerful Catholic estate, informing the four Catholic co-regent states of Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden and Zug on 7 June 1642 of events in the parish church and enclosing a copy of the Baden administrator's missive.[57] No common political strategy was laid out, but further communicative steps were explored, such as whether this 'business' should be debated at the next Diet or first addressed internally in a 'friendly, verbal discussion and conference' among the Catholic governing states.[58] It was agreed that other matters to be considered made it a good idea to hold a special Catholic assembly before the Swiss Diet,[59] and such a meeting indeed took place on 27–28 June 1642 in Lucerne.[60] Selective proceedings of this assembly were recorded in a final resolution, a recess, which formulated the Catholic interpretation and perceptions of events thus far. The Reformed pastor was accused of ignoring the administrator's prohibition and placing the baptismal font in the church 'on his own authority'. Such an outrageous act should in itself have called for the 'deserved maintenance of our authority'; that is, it required action by the administrator to preserve the authority of the Catholic governing states. The administrator had neither punished the 'interested parties and authors of the deed' – i.e., the clerics – nor 'demonstrated their iniquities to them'.[61] Thus the assembly criticized the conduct of the Catholic administrator Müller, since he had called both priests in for questioning but had not punished Pastor Tobler for his high-handed actions. Despite this critique of the way in which the highest official of the county of Baden had performed his duties, the governing states trusted the administrator's reason and loyalty and thus his ability to prevent further damage to the reputation of the Catholic estates in future.[62] He was soon

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[57] Unterwalden's reply, at least, mentions two letters from the administrator; we may assume that all the Catholic co-regent states received the same information, as this was common political practice. StAAG AA, 2819/11: Würenlos 1638–1647, fol. 30r–v, 11 June 1642.

[58] Ibid., fol. 26r–v, 7 June 1642.

[59] I only found the reply from Unterwalden, ibid., fol. 30r–v, 11 June 1642.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Let us recall that the Catholic administrator had issued a 'strong reprimand', but not imposed any punishment.

[62] The original recess can be found in StAZH BVIII 127 (Abschiede und Beilagen), fol. 331r–v, the modernized version in *Amtliche Sammlung der ältern eidgenössischen Abschiede* 1245–1789, various places of publication, 1839ff (abbreviated as EA below), Bd. 5, Abt. 2, 3. Teil, Art. 195, p. 1694.

able to show that this faith was not misplaced. At their separate diet, the Catholic ruling estates recorded in writing the events that had been reconstructed through Catholic channels of communication; in the oral consultations that followed at the Swiss Diet in Baden, these then attained the status of information on the basis of which the Catholic representatives formulated their confessionalized positions.

This underlines, first, the extent to which, despite their own political competencies, the administrators represented a medium for enforcing and manufacturing the confessional interests of the governing states within the complex political system of shared lordship. Significantly, it was the Catholic rather than the Protestant states that criticized the administrator's behaviour, since the Protestants had profited from his exercise of office. After all, the Reformed congregation in Würenlos now had its own baptismal font. This brings us indirectly to the second point, the degree to which subjects' disobedience required clear punitive sanctions by the authorities in order to safeguard social order and the reputation of those in power. As research has shown, in early modern societies honour was conceived of as a material commodity that could be threatened and damaged, but also regained.[63] The political honour of the Catholic estates was doubly imperilled: on the one hand, by the disobedience of the Reformed pastor towards the Catholic administrator, who as the highest official of the county of Baden represented the political interests of the governing estates there. On the other hand, this 'confessionalized' representation of power meant that the Reformed pastor's lack of respect for the Catholic administrator inevitably also endangered the Catholic estates' political reputation and the implementation of their claims to power.

Despite a set of norms governing religious coexistence in the shared lordships that favoured the Catholic parties, and despite the majority principle, which should have facilitated the enforcement of Catholic power interests in the governing practice of Baden, the Catholic parties failed to exert their political influence in this concrete instance. Institutionalized Catholic superiority was thus not a concept of rule in its own right; it also had to prove itself in daily political action against Protestant 'subversiveness' or the resistance of the local or Swiss confederate authorities. Power only became entrenched in the successful enforcement of notions of political order. In other words, the construct of rule could be measured in everyday political life by its successes. From this standpoint, a good deal more hung in the balance for the Catholic estates than the

[63] For an overview of the now broadly studied functional diversity of honour in early modern societies, mainly from the perspective of historical anthropology (with bibliography), see Klaus Schreiner and Gerd Schwerhoff (eds), *Verletzte Ehre. Ehrkonflikte in Gesellschaften des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 1995) and Sibylle Backmann, Hans-Jörg Künast, Sabine Ullmann and B. Ann Tlusty (eds), *Ehrkonzepte in der Frühen Neuzeit. Identitäten und Abgrenzungen* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 70–98. If my assessment of the state of the historiography is correct, 'political honour' continues to represent a gap in the literature.

mere failure to punish a rebellious pastor or the installation of a new baptismal font in the church at Würenlos. The symbolic capital of their political honour was at stake, or, as the Catholic estates put it, their reputation (*Ansehen*) and authority (*Auctoritet*).[64]

Power, these communicative events make abundantly clear, was not a state but a process – one that revealed the fragility of social order formation and of the enforcement of (Catholic) authority. Baden and the administrator's office were far away, and the interior of Würenlos parish church could be altered quickly and quietly without the knowledge of Baden's officials – before they obtained the necessary information to intervene. To this extent Felix Tobler was always one step ahead of the administrator and the governing states, since he knew how to keep his plans and his knowledge secret. After all, the baptismal font had to be made first, for which preparations were necessary, and other individuals had to be informed of the plans. We do not know what role Zurich played in all this, but it seems likely that the city's mayor and council were apprised of the pastor's plans, since the locksmith and stonemason came from Zurich.[65]

It is striking that the Reformed estate of Zurich, like the co-regent estates of Reformed Glarus and Berne, scarcely appear in the communications about this business – either in the diplomatic correspondence or at the Swiss Diet that met in Baden in July 1642. This communicative negation, I would argue, was a clever strategy of patient perseverance, which made good sense as part of a political practice that formulated and marked power motives through communication, since the baptismal font installed in the church was consistent with Zurich's own power interests. To that extent there was no need to take action; rather to communicate. Although the Diet's resolution called upon the administrator to remove the baptismal font or 'diminish' (*mindern*) it somewhat,[66] it was Zurich's strategy of inconspicuously waiting out the matter that proved successful. After all, the description of the church interior of May 1666 cited at the beginning of this chapter also mentions, along with the 'papist' pictures and other Catholic ornaments, the baptismal font of the Reformed congregation, which still stood on the spot in Würenlos parish church that the Catholic priest Keller had marked with a sign years before.[67]

Conclusions

Swiss churches used biconfessionally were religious but also political action spaces (*Handlungsräume*) for the governing states in the early modern period.

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[64] EA, Bd. 5, Abt. 2, 3. Teil, p. 1694, Art. 195; and, for the original recess, StAZH BVIII 127 (Abschiede und Beilagen), fol. 331.

[65] StAAG AA, 2819/11: Würenlos 1638–1647, fol. 34v, 24 June 1642.

[66] EA, Bd. 5, Abt. 2, 3. Teil, Art. 196, p. 1694.

[67] StAZH, E I 30.90: Pfrundakten Otelfingen/Würenlos, unfoliated, 14 May 1666.

The multitiered system of rule and normative regulations on religious coexistence meant that liturgical alterations, even in small village churches, could become the subject of political negotiations and settlements. Although village peace was always an issue, it was not primarily the desire to resolve conflicts that determined the communicative behaviour of the Swiss confederates. Political communication was used instead to articulate legal claims to participation in church space and in its material and religious culture and arrangements, always bearing in mind the precarious balance of conflict and religious coexistence. At the same time, political negotiations constituted in themselves a stabilizing factor in Swiss political culture, since the co-governing states consistently established modes of communication about confessional differences. Thus, denominational conflicts may be described as 'stabilizing conflicts', since communications did not merely identify confessional differences but ensured that religious disputes remained negotiable.

However, the means of communication also point to the uncertainties generated by the political system of shared lordship. Before Lucerne could decide what to do, the Catholic state had to gather and select information about the events in Würenlos. While Lucerne was communicatively active, Zurich skilfully used the unwieldy political system of shared lordship to further its own confessional interests and kept a low communicative profile when political circumstances and the situation (in the church interior) suggested it. In its negation, this tactical move on the part of the Reformed estate in turn emphasized the significance of communication in the political practice of shared lordships which made good sense as part of a political practice that formulated and marked power motives through communication. Thus, communicative negation could also stand for a strategy of inconspicuous perseverance. Moreover, the different modes of communication chosen by the local (abbot of Wettingen, Catholic administrator in Baden) and Swiss confederate authorities indicate the political latitude that the absence of the highest political authorities allowed in daily communication.

Political communication about parish churches of the Swiss Confederation furthermore articulated confession-specific spatial concepts for the liturgical arrangement of the churches which shaped the confessional cultures in the long term. For communicators on different levels (macro, micro and meso), the *Landfrieden* was the central reference work to which they pointed, with a secure prerogative of interpretation, in political communications on various objectives. Apart from questions of maintaining village peace and creating order, the communicative processes were also concerned with participating in and appropriating church space. To that extent, the manufacture of confessional difference had a material dimension in the medium of political communication. These processes of negotiation surrounding church interiors were constitutive of power relations between the confessions, for, as Martina Löw puts it, they were 'permanently

embedded in spatial constructions'.[68] To that extent, the cases discussed here not only offer insights into political negotiation and settlements, but also illuminate the communicative disputes over the creation of confessionalized church spaces and cultures in the early modern Swiss Confederation.

[68] Martina Löw, 'Epilog', in Rau and Schwerhoff, *Zwischen Gotteshaus und Taverne*, pp. 463–8.

PART III
Images

Chapter 9
Saints as Cultural History

Thomas Worcester

In the introduction to his essay, 'How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint', Peter Burke states that saints 'are well worth the attention of cultural historians not only because many of them are interesting as individuals, but also because, like other heroes, they reflect the values of the culture in which they are perceived in a heroic light'.[1] He cautions that, for 'anyone interested in the history of perception', saints are less witnesses to the values of the age in which they lived than to the values of the age in which they were canonized.[2] And Burke devotes much of this fascinating essay to exploring who was canonized by popes between 1588 and 1767, and to the types of people most likely to gain such recognition in that period. In the Catholic Church, the only saint is a dead saint; but some of the individuals Burke examines had lived and died even centuries before their canonization.

This chapter looks at one of the ways in which the interest of Catholic saints to cultural historians is *not* limited to the history of perceptions at the time of a canonization. There may be a very long run-up to a canonization, lasting decades or centuries, and it may reveal much about a culture or several cultures. Also, many saints – biblical ones for instance – were never canonized. Yet perception of them may change over time, and in ways that reveal much about the values of an era. Certain biblical saints seem to attract a lot of attention in our own time. For instance, recent attention to Mary Magdalen – and there has been a lot of it – surely tells us something about the values and attitudes of our era, in particular regarding women and sexuality.[3] Some saints who lived in the Reformation or

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[1] Peter Burke, in his *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 48. 'How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint' is chapter 5 in this book, pp. 48–62; it had earlier been published in *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Kaspar von Greyerz (London, 1984), pp. 45–55.

[2] Burke, *Historical Anthropology*, p. 53. On what historians may learn by examining failed attempts at obtaining papal approval for a canonization, see Simon Ditchfield's case study, 'How Not to be a Counter-Reformation Saint: The Attempted Canonization of Pope Gregory X, 1622–45', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 60 (1992): 379–422.

[3] Recent work on the history of devotion to biblical saints includes attention to St Anne and St Thomas the Apostle; see Virginia Nixon, *Mary's Mother: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe* (University Park, 2005); Glenn W. Most, *Doubting Thomas* (Cambridge, MA, 2005). Among the many recent works on Mary Magdalen are Susan Haskins, *Mary*

early modern eras are also topics of much current interest to historians – Teresa of Avila, for instance. She lived in the sixteenth century and was canonized in the early seventeenth century.[4] The question of how sanctity was (or was not) recognized and imagined as Christianity spread – or at least attempted to spread – outside Europe after 1492 is also an area of research for cultural historians at present.[5] There can be cases of saints who were canonized in one era, but became objects of widespread devotion only in a later era. In this chapter I shall examine a French saint: Louis IX or Saint Louis. He was canonized in 1297, less than 30 years after his death, but his cult reached its apogee only three or four hundred years later, in the Counter-Reformation, or Catholic Reformation, era.

King Louis IX of France was born in 1214 and reigned 1226–1270. He died in Tunis, while on crusade, and was canonized as a saint by Pope Boniface VIII. This canonization was part of a peace agreement between the French king, Philip IV, and Boniface VIII. Only in the seventeenth century did the cult of Saint Louis become widespread, and its promotion was strongly associated with both the Catholic Reformation in France – its values and attitudes – and with the Bourbon monarchy of Henry IV and his successors, who bore the name Louis. Peter Burke, in his book *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, shows how Louis XIV was presented or portrayed at times as a new Saint Louis and even a new Jesus Christ, and often as a new Apollo, a new Alexander, a new Caesar, a new Charlemagne and indeed as in his own category, surpassing all predecessors.[6] Burke's study of Louis XIV sheds much light on the deliberate construction of certain images of a king during his own reign. It also suggests that how Saint Louis was remembered, imagined, fabricated and marketed provides insights on culture, religion and politics in the seventeenth century.

Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor (London, 1993); Franco Mormando, 'Teaching the Faithful to Fly: Mary Magdalene and Peter in Baroque Italy', in Franco Mormando (ed.), *Saints and Sinners: Caravaggio and the Baroque Image* (Chestnut Hill and Chicago, 1999), pp. 107–35; Ann Brock, *Mary Magdalene: The First Apostle: The Struggle for Authority* (Cambridge, MA, 2003); Bart Ehrman, *Peter, Paul, and Mary Magdalene: The Followers of Jesus in History and Legend* (Oxford, 2006). On the history of the cult of the Virgin Mary, see, for example, Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley, 1993); Robert Maniura, *Pilgrimage to Images in the Fifteenth Century: The Origins of the Cult of Our Lady of Czestochowa* (Rochester, NY, 2004); Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500–1648* (Cambridge, 2007).

[4] See Alison Weber, *Teresa of Avila and the Rhetoric of Femininity* (Princeton, 1990); Carole Slade, *St. Teresa of Avila: Author of a Heroic Life* (Berkeley, 1995); Gillian Ahlgren, *Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity* (Ithaca, 1996).

[5] See Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff (eds), *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas, 1500–1800* (New York, 2003); Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (Oxford, 2005).

[6] Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, 1992).

I suggest that attention to the cult of Saint Louis c. 1600–1650 reveals not only praise of a saint and a king, but also ideals of a certain culture – that of the Catholic Reformation in France. I shall focus on several examples of Saint Louis in text, image and architecture from the early to mid-seventeenth century, the era in which the cult of Saint Louis reached its peak.[7]

In some ways, the seventeenth century recovered and made known once again medieval depictions of Louis IX. Yet such recovery no doubt went hand in hand with editing and reworking, with updating for contemporary purposes. An excellent example is the life of Saint Louis by Jean de Joinville (1224–1317), who had accompanied Louis IX on crusade. Composed in the early fourteenth century, this history of Saint Louis would take on a new life in early modern France.[8] From 1547, numerous printed editions appeared. An in-depth comparative study of these editions would make an interesting inquiry in itself; here I would like to briefly mention three editions, and their contexts.

The 1540s marked an intensification of religious strife across Europe; confessional polemics hardened as Calvin rose to prominence in Geneva, and as the Council of Trent convened. In France, as King Francis I neared the end of his reign (1515–1547), he struggled with tough choices for dealing with heretics, noble factions and foreign rivals.[9] With a royal privilege dated 20 January 1545, a printed edition of Joinville's history of Saint Louis was published at Poitiers in 1547.[10] It includes a letter of dedication to Francis by Anthoine Pierre de Rieux. Rieux explains that he has polished Joinville's language and put his history in a 'better' order than that in which he found it. Rieux continues:

> It is certain, Sire, that among all things in this mortal life that may profit the human being, History must hold the highest and principal place … through knowledge of History we are so incited to virtue that we hate vice … But as for glory and virtue … the French surpass even [ancient] Rome, for there has never

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[7] On Saint Louis in his own era and on how his cult developed after his death, see Jacques LeGoff, *Saint Louis* (Paris, 1996).

[8] On Joinville, see *Jean de Joinville: de la Champagne aux royaumes d'outre-mer*, ed. Danielle Quéruel (Langres, 1998). For an English translation of Joinville's history of Saint Louis, see *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chroniclers of the Crusades*, ed. M.R.B. Shaw (New York, 1963). For a printing of an edition in medieval French with a modern French version on facing pages, see Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1997).

[9] See R.J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge, 1994).

[10] Jean de Joinville, *L'histoire & chronique du tres chrestien roy S. Loys, IX. du nom, & XLIIII. Roy de France*, ed. Anthoine Pierre de Rieux (Poitiers, 1547). Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of this and other works are my own.

> been a kingdom in which the kings loved their subjects more, nor gave so much honor to virtue and the Christian religion, as have done the Kings of France.[11]

The 1609 edition, published in the reign of Henry IV, includes the letter to Francis, as well as a genealogy of the House of Bourbon.[12] This genealogy begins with Saint Louis, and shows how all subsequent French monarchs are descended from him. In the case of Henry IV, he is shown to be a direct descendant through Louis's younger son, Robert. Robert married Beatrix (a Bourbon), and their son Louis became Duke of Bourbon in 1327; the Bourbon line descends from him. At the death of Henry III in 1589, the Bourbon, Henry, became Henry IV, 'according to the law of the kingdom', and was recognized and greeted as Most Christian King of France and Navarre 'by the healthiest part of the French'.[13]

The 1617 edition includes a dedicatory letter to Louis XIII by Claude Menard, a counsellor to the king.[14] Menard tells the 16-year-old Louis that the two virtues that compose and conserve a state are religion and law; disorder and faction are the 'plague' of kingdoms. Menard continues: France, more than any other nation, for more than 12 centuries, has demonstrated that religion is 'the sun of souls, the stem of the intellect, the sky of the virtues', without which there are but shadows. Menard adds: in this history of Saint Louis, His Majesty [Louis XIII] will also learn of the care taken by a great king to make manifest the excellence of the law, to provide constant judges, and to correct crimes with severe punishments. His Majesty will also see the happy fruits of a holy peace, with the Church prospering. Of all of His Majesty's predecessors one could not find a more brilliant example of piety, and one could not better warn 'infidel kingdoms' of what to expect from His Majesty than by comparison with his namesake, Saint Louis.[15]

Menard's edition includes engravings on facing pages, signed by L. Gaultier,[16] showing Saint Louis, King of France, and Louis XIII, King of France and Navarre (Figure 9.1). Saint Louis, backed by a halo, holds in one hand a royal sceptre,

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[11] Ibid., 'Au Roy tres chrestien Francoys', unpaginated. Another text on which Rieux had worked in the 1540s was Johannn Guenther's *Le regime de vivre & de prendre medicine, que l'on doibt observer en tout temps: et principallement en temps de peste*, trans. from Latin by Anthoine Pierre de Rieux (Poitiers, 1544).

[12] Jean de Joinville, *Histoire et cronique du tres-chrestien roy Sainct Loys, IX. du Nom et XLIIII. roy de France* (Paris, 1609).

[13] Ibid., unpaginated.

[14] Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de S. Loys, IX du nom, roy de France*, ed. Claude Menard (Paris, 1617).

[15] Ibid., 'Au Roy tres chrestien Francoys', 9 pages unpaginated.

[16] This was most likely Léonard Gaultier. In 1610 he had been commissioned to produce an official, commemorative image of Louis XIII's coronation; see Elizabeth McCartney, 'Ung successeur légitime hérétier de la couronne: Shaping the historical canon of royal advent in 1610', *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, 27 (1999): 1–10, p. 4.

and in the other the said-to-be crown of thorns and nails of Christ's passion – precious relics Louis IX had brought to Paris, and for which he built the Sainte Chapelle. Louis XIII, looking the adolescent he was at the time, holds in one hand a royal sceptre and in the other a hand of justice. Though he has no halo, Louis wears medallions of the Order of the Holy Spirit,[17] an order of knights created by Henry III in 1578 as an effort to retain the loyalty of the Catholic nobility.[18] As much as anything in Menard's letter of dedication, or in the text of Joinville that follows, these images proclaim if not yet in fact, at least in hope, profound continuity between Louis IX and Louis XIII. In 1617 the young Louis XIII had not yet emerged clearly from the tutelage of his mother, Queen Regent Marie de Médicis, but that was about to happen.[19]

Menard states that earlier editions of Joinville had added many things not in the original text, and that here the first version will be rendered.[20] Leaving aside, at least in this chapter, the task of testing Menard's claim against available evidence, I will note some of the most prominent themes in Menard's edition of Joinville's history.

If the Renaissance looked to pagan and Christian antiquity as the ideal past, seventeenth-century devotion to Saint Louis suggests a shift toward a renewed appreciation of the Middle Ages as exemplary.[21] Joinville's history, as published by Menard, glories in details of Louis IX as a crusading warrior, leading his army against the infidels. Menard presents this not merely as an important or entertaining tale from a glorious past, but as a model to be followed by Louis XIII and his generation. In the context of early seventeenth-century France, the comparison of Muslims with Protestants could have been made by Catholic readers. Publication of Joinville's history of Saint Louis at the time of the Counter-Reformation would not have been seen as unrelated to Catholic warfare against the Huguenots, on the battlefield, in print and in the pulpit.

Though Joinville's history pays the greatest attention to battles and participants in them, it also highlights the piety and virtue of the French king. Thus, Saint Louis is said to have loved and feared God; like Christ, he died for his people.[22] In his speech, Saint Louis never spoke ill of anyone. On Holy Thursday, he washed the feet of the poor.[23] Every day he heard both the Divine Office and Mass. After hearing Mass, in the summer, he would sit under an oak tree at Vincennes and render justice to all who brought some matter before him.[24] And Joinville also

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[17] These engravings appear in this volume directly after the approbation by doctors of theology and the *privilege du roy*.

[18] See *La renaissance du culte de Saint Louis au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1970).

[19] See A. Lloyd Moote, *Louis XIII, The Just* (Berkeley, 1989).

[20] Letter to *lecteur curieux*, 5 pages, in Joinville, ed. Menard.

[21] On the broader issues involved, see Nathan Edelman, *Attitudes of Seventeenth-Century France Toward the Middle Ages* (New York, 1946).

[22] Joinville, ed. Menard, p. 5.

[23] Ibid., pp. 7–9.

[24] Ibid., pp. 21–3.

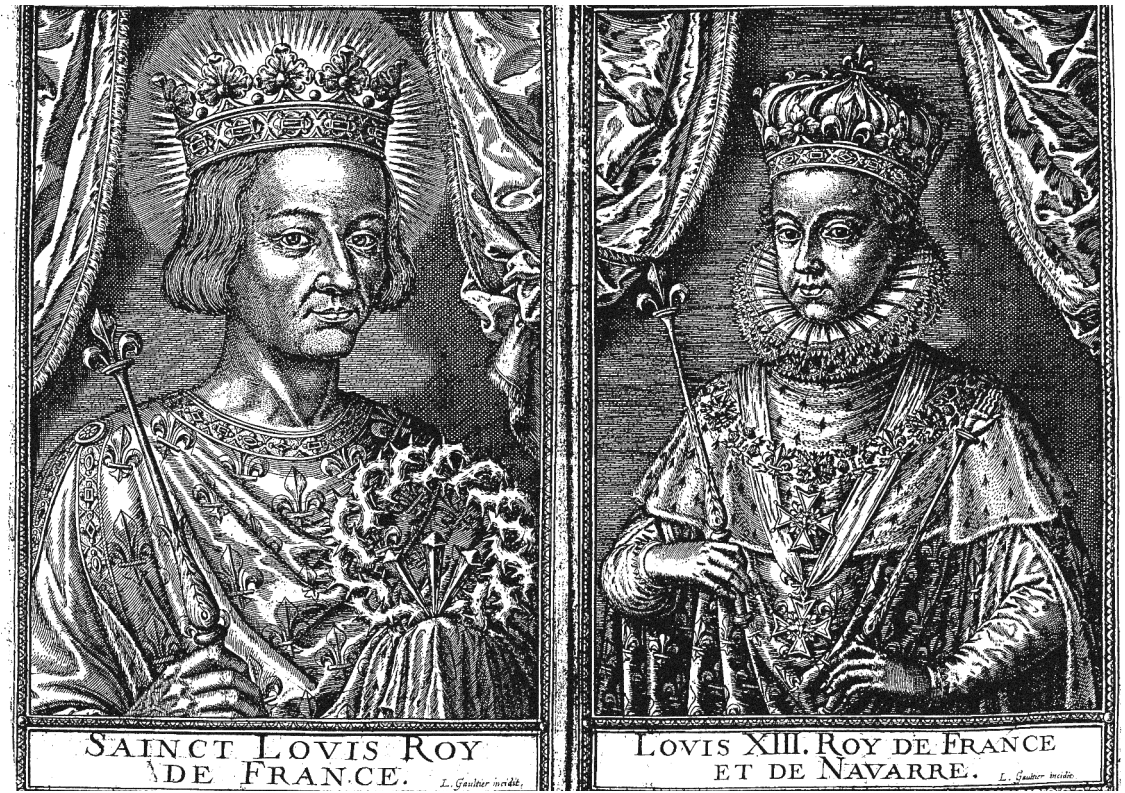

Figure 9.1 Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de S. Loys, IX du nom, roy de France* (Paris, 1617). Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, collection jésuite des Fontaines, SJ IF 171/102, frontispiece

recounts how Saint Louis was himself devoted to the saints, especially Saint James and Saint Genevieve.[25]

Louis XIII's mother was Marie de Médicis, an Italian who promoted an alliance of France and Spain in a holy war against Protestants.[26] Joinville explains that Saint Louis's piety was formed by that of his mother, Blanche of Castile; she came from Spain, and taught her son that it was better to die than to commit even one mortal sin.[27] A reader in 1617 could hardly have failed to think of Louis XIII and his mother.

Joinville includes in his eyewitness accounts of life in camp with Louis's army some vivid details on Lenten discipline, on illness, and on prayer. Even fish was rarely eaten in Lent. Many persons also suffered from drying of their skin, even to the bone, and many suffered from an illness in the mouth in which the gums rotted and stank horribly. When they began to bleed from the nose, death was near.[28] For those with rotting gums, barbers would cut away the dead flesh, but this would make the sick cry out like poor women in childbirth. When 'good King Saint Louis' saw this, he joined his hands, raised his face to heaven, and blessed the Lord for all that the Lord had given him.[29] Saint Louis also said that God sends us some ill so that we recognize our faults; he said that we should examine ourselves to see if there is in us something displeasing to God. If so, we should immediately remove it, and God will love us and keep us from dangers.[30] Joinville explains that on his return to France, Saint Louis frequented sermons and also went to La Baume in Provence, to honour Saint Mary Magdalen and the place where she had a hermitage.[31]

'The good king' loved God and his mother very much, explains Joinville. For this reason he punished severely all who spoke a vile word; blasphemy he punished with a hot iron.[32] But Saint Louis was charitable to the poor; everywhere he went in his kingdom he visited the poor and the sick; he gave generously to poor widows and to girls seeking to marry. To poor beggars he gave food and drink; he himself would cut bread for them and give them drink.[33] Every day he would feed 120 poor in his house, more during Lent. Though some in his entourage murmured and complained that he gave too much in alms, 'the good king' replied that he preferred to give alms than to spend on vanities.[34] Saint Louis

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25 Ibid., p. 28.

26 See Lloyd Moote, *Louis XIII, The Just*.

27 Joinville, ed. Menard, p. 28.

28 Ibid., p. 121.

29 Ibid., pp. 126–7.

30 Ibid., pp. 246–7.

31 Ibid., pp. 251–3.

32 Ibid., pp. 258–9.

33 Ibid., pp. 260–61.

34 Ibid., pp. 266–7.

also founded many monasteries and religious houses throughout his kingdom and in Paris, all at his own expense.[35]

An account of the death of Saint Louis at Tunis is how Joinville brings his chronicle to a conclusion. Afflicted with an intestinal illness, the 'good king' exhorted his children to love of God, frequent confession, devotion to the Eucharist, to have a gentle heart for the poor, justice for rich and poor alike, honour for clergy and religious orders, and to avoid when at all possible war against other Christians. After receiving the sacraments of the Church, Saint Louis invoked Saints James, Denis and Genevieve, and then turned his sight to heaven and gave up his spirit 'at the same hour' at which Christ had given up his spirit for the salvation of his people.[36] Joinville's Saint Louis, at least as presented by Menard, fits easily into a model of post-Tridentine Catholic piety, with its emphases on frequent confession and communion and on good works or charity. Avoidance of war with other Christians was perhaps even more a directly relevant topic in an era when many devout Catholics in France argued for a policy of alliance with Catholic Spain, a policy Richelieu would reject.[37]

Yet by no means did promotion of the cult of Saint Louis in early seventeenth-century France rely solely on reprintings of medieval sources. Examination of the *Mercure françois*, a kind of French yearbook published from 1605 onwards, reveals a substantial number of references to Saint Louis, to celebrations of his cult and to the piety of seventeenth-century French kings. For example, in 1613, there is a description of a fireworks display along the Seine, which took place in front of the Louvre on 25 August, the feast of Saint Louis.[38] The 1618 volume reproduces a brief of Pope Paul V, dated 5 July of that year, encouraging celebration of the feast of Saint Louis.[39] The 1625 volume includes a section on 'parallels' between Saint Louis and Louis XIII.[40] For 1630, the *Mercure françois* begins by recounting the 'admired and truly Christian devotion' of Louis XIII in visiting, on foot, some 19 stations spread out across Paris, designated by the archbishop for a jubilee celebration.[41]

Clerical writers, moreover, produced new accounts of the life of Louis IX; one example is Jean-Jacques Bouchard's sermon on the feast of Saint Louis (25 August), delivered in 1640 at San Luigi dei Francesi, in Rome. A secular priest, Bouchard (1606–1641) is perhaps best known for the journals he kept of his

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35 Ibid., pp. 268.

36 Ibid., pp. 270–76.

37 On Richelieu and war, see, for example, J.H. Elliott, *Richelieu and Olivares* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 113–42.

38 *Mercure françois*, 1613, pp. 243–9; http://mercurefrancois.ehess.fr/.

39 *Mercure françois*, 1618, p. 272.

40 *Mercure françois*, 1625, pp. 96–115.

41 *Mercure françois*, 1630, pp.1–2.

travels in Italy.[42] Bouchard's sermon at San Luigi was published in Rome and focuses on the virtues of Saint Louis as proof of God's predestination of France as an instrument of salvation.[43]

In an introduction to the printed version, Bouchard explains that his oration at San Luigi was both a panegyric and a sermon, in which are seen the 'eminent virtues' of Saint Louis, as well as 'praises of the French nation in general'.[44] On the piety of Saint Louis, Bouchard states that the king went to Mass twice each day and attended the liturgy of the hours; he fasted twice a week; and, in addition to mortifying his flesh with the discipline, he visited churches and hospitals barefoot. He was 'liberal' in is his dealings with the indigent, and throughout France he founded abbeys, monasteries, hospitals, in addition to his Sainte Chapelle.[45] Canonized by Pope Boniface VIII only 23 years after his death, Saint Louis, in Bouchard's view, is the great king, superior to all others who have ever 'commanded' on earth.[46]

At the same time, broadening his themes beyond Louis IX as unique or exceptional, Bouchard declares that the kingdom of France, 'this beautiful kingdom', is the first of all kingdoms.[47] He explains: If the strength and power of kingdoms consists in 'the wealth of the country', the number of 'well-ordered cities' and the valour of peoples, what other kingdom in the world could be compared to France? For France finds its strength and power in its beautiful rivers, its fertile soil and under a sky equally fecund and innocent. And Paris is what Rome and Athens once were: the throne of grandeur and power, the treasure of riches and delights, the academy of arts and the school of sciences. The inclination to letters, so strong in 'our nation', has always been accompanied by such wise laws that they have been preferred to those of all other states, just as French politeness and courtesy have been the admiration and model of other peoples.[48] French women, adds Bouchard, join goodness of spirit to physical beauty; they conserve, in the midst of a most innocent liberty, a most pure chastity.[49]

Seventeenth-century France was well endowed with prominent preachers, both in the pulpit and in print. Another example is Léon de Saint Jean (1600–1671), a Carmelite friar and preacher, remembered especially for his funeral orations of

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[42] See Jean-Jacques Bouchard, *Journal*, ed. Emanuele Kanceff (2 vols, Turin, 1976–1977).

[43] Jean-Jacques Bouchard, *Sermon Panégyrique sur Saint Louis Roy de France* (Rome, 1640), p. 16.

[44] Ibid., pp. 3–5.

[45] Ibid., pp. 18–19.

[46] Ibid., pp. 22–3.

[47] Ibid., p. 16.

[48] Ibid., pp. 13–14.

[49] Ibid., p. 14.

Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin.[50] Like Bouchard, he also preached for one year at San Luigi in Rome, on the feast of Saint Louis. In this instance, the year was 1648; a printed edition, published later that year in Rome, includes a dedication to the young Louis XIV, by Jean Marquier, identified as a priest from Brittany and pastor of Saint-Yves in Rome.[51] Marquier explains to the ten year-old Louis:

> as the saints of the Church Triumphant are models for the just in the Church Militant, so kings who live in heaven as the blessed are 'prototypes' for monarchs reigning on earth. All 'true Catholics' look forward in the king's youth to victories over heretics, in the king's virility to triumphs over the Turk, and in his old age to holiness crowned with every virtue.[52]

Though Marquier seems to imply that sanctity could or should wait until the king's later years, Léon de Saint Jean suggests no such delay. Calling France 'my dear fatherland', he asserts that France is a 'garden in which the king is the lily that crowns it; as the lily is to flowers, so the 'incomparable' Saint Louis is to other kings'.[53] Dividing his 'panegyric' into two parts, one on Saint Louis as the saint of kings, the other on Saint Louis as the king of saints, this Carmelite treats Saint Louis as a model of virtue both for kings and for all Catholics.

Léon de Saint Jean describes Saint Louis as 'like Abraham', the father of the faithful, thanks to his many acts of faith, his heroic virtue, his alms and liberalities, the hospitals and monasteries built. Every Sunday, feast day and Friday, Louis received communion; he always had the Eucharist brought along in every journey on land or sea.[54] Yet Léon de Saint Jean insists that what Saint Louis did was not unlike what the French 'nation' has done. What other nation in the world, he asks, has contributed so much to the propagation of the faith and to the destruction of heresies? Who fought the Albigensians? Who freed the election of popes from the tyranny of the emperors? The two unshakeable foundations of the Christian and Catholic religion are Italy and France, Rome and Paris, the Church and the heritage of Saint Louis.[55] The French who wish to reach heaven should imitate the great Saint Louis; a 'true' French heart ought to be incapable of every sort of heresy, schism and mortal sin.[56]

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[50] On Léon de Saint Jean, see the article by Suzanne Michel, in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité. Ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, ed. Marcel Viller et al. (17 vols, Paris, 1932–1995), vol. 9, pp. 626–30.

[51] Léon de Saint Jean, *Saint Louys, le Saint des Roys, et le Roy des Saints. Sermon Panégyrique* (Rome, 1648).

[52] Ibid., unpaginated dedication.

[53] Ibid., pp. 2–4.

[54] Ibid., pp. 13–14.

[55] Ibid., pp. 16–21.

[56] Ibid., p. 23.

This sermon was reprinted in a 1650 edition of Father Léon's 'diverse' panegyric sermons.[57] This edition also includes another discourse on Saint Louis, with no year indicated, but designated as having been preached before the nuns of Montmartre on the Saint's feast day. Here Léon de Saint Jean again terms Louis IX the king of saints and the saint of kings.[58] The glorious Saint Louis, in the midst of every sort of grandeur, recognized his 'dependence' on God; as God had great love for him, so he for God.[59] On crusade for the conquest of the Holy Land, Saint Louis found God in everything, even as he suffered hunger, plague and death. He died in a foreign land like a poor soldier, on the coast of Africa, miserably stretched out on a bed of sand and ashes, struck down by plague and burning with fever.[60] The Carmelite preacher tells the nuns of Montmartre that every soul seeking perfection should take Saint Louis as a patron and model; even more so should the professed religious imitate Saint Louis through humble and obedient dependence on God's good pleasure.[61]

God's pleasure or will was also thought to be followed by the building of beautiful churches and other buildings worthy of his glory and that of his saints. Thus the cult of Saint Louis was expressed and celebrated not only in words and images, but also in architecture. In the France of the Bourbon monarchs, many new churches and other structures and institutions were erected in honour of Saint Louis. Hilary Ballon, in her book, *The Paris of Henri IV: Architecture and Urbanism*, includes a fascinating chapter on the Hôpital Saint Louis for plague victims. Built largely at royal expense, it was begun in 1607 under Henry IV and completed in 1612 under Louis XIII. It was erected on the north side of the city, somewhat away from the urban population.[62] Ballon explains the king's purposes:

> Saint Louis (1226–1270) was the royal model of Christian charity and devotion. The original founder of the Hôtel Dieu … and numerous other charitable foundations, he had died of the plague while fighting the Crusades in Tunis. The Hôpital St. Louis associated the devout saint with the Bourbon king whose Christian faith was still questioned by many Frenchmen. It also reiterated the political legitimacy of Henri IV, whose claim to the throne was based on his distant descent from Saint Louis. The plague hospital demonstrated Henri IV's rightful claim as Rex Christianissimus, the Most Christian King.[63]

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[57] Léon de Saint Jean, *La Couronne des saints: Composee de divers sermons panégyriques* (Paris, 1650).

[58] Ibid., pp. 400–14.

[59] Ibid., p. 408.

[60] Ibid., pp. 410–12.

[61] Ibid., p. 412.

[62] Hilary Ballon, *The Paris of Henri IV: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 166–98.

[63] Ibid., p. 180.

In Paris itself, the most prominent new structure dedicated to Saint Louis and built during the reign of Louis XIII was the Jesuit church, Saint-Louis, on the rue Saint-Antoine in the Marais district.[64] In 1619, Louis XIII gave the land necessary for the building of this church to the Jesuits. In 1627 he laid the cornerstone. In 1634 Cardinal Richelieu laid the cornerstone of the church's façade; the cardinal returned on the feast of the Ascension in 1641, to celebrate the first mass in the new church.[65]

At the Jesuit church of Saint-Louis, Richelieu would have found many images of Louis IX as a good, virtuous prince, and as a saint. Decoration of the interior of the Jesuit church eventually included several large paintings by the leading painters of the period. These included Simon Vouet's *Saint Louis Carried to Heaven*, part of the altarpiece above the main altar; in the transept *Saint Louis Receiving the Crown of Thorns* and *Louis XIII Offering to Saint Louis a Model of the Church*, both from Vouet's workshop; and *The Death of Saint Louis*, by Jacques de Létin. Some of these images showed a monarch setting an example for his royal descendants; others, such as *The Death of Saint Louis*, depicted a model of Christian piety imitable by all persons.[66]

Events at this Jesuit Church included feast-day panegyrics in honour of Saint Louis. For instance, in 1648, the preacher for the feast of Saint Louis was Jean-François Paul de Gondi (1613–1679), coadjutor bishop of Paris.[67] The audience included the young Louis XIV and his mother, Anne of Austria, Queen Regent. Addressing the young king, the bishop explained that the education he was receiving from his mother, 'the most virtuous of queens', was founded on the example of 'the greatest and most holy' of his ancestors, Saint Louis and his mother; from these ancestors the king would learn 'how to live as a king'.[68] In Saint Louis, Louis XIV would find a king who understood that genuine piety and genuine valor were not in conflict. The wars of Saint Louis were 'sanctified wars'; he fought a 'holy war' against infidels.[69] In Saint Louis, the young Louis XIV would find a king who himself served the poor in hospitals, with an ardent charity. Saint Louis, when in prison and when ill and dying, was 'resigned' to God's will;

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[64] After the French Revolution this church was given the name Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis, and became a parish. For its history up to the expulsion of the Jesuits in the 1760s, see *Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis: Les Jésuites à Paris*, ed. Musée Carnavalet (Paris, 1985). On efforts of seventeenth-century French Jesuits to flatter the monarch, see my 'Jesuit Dependence on the French Monarchy', in Thomas Worcester (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 104–19.

[65] *Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis: Les Jésuites à Paris*, p. 11.

[66] The most significant of these, Vouet's Saint Louis carried to heaven, is now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rouen.

[67] On Jean-François Paul de Gondi, see Joseph Bergin, *The Making of the French Episcopate 1589–1661* (New Haven, 1996), p. 633.

[68] I.F. Paul de Gondi, *Sermon de S. Louis Roy de France* (Paris, 1649), pp. 4–5.

[69] Ibid., pp. 7–10.

when dying, he exhorted his successors to render justice equally to the poor and to princes, to relieve the needs of the people, to 'incline ordinarily' to those less rich, to avoid heretics, to give church benefices only to those capable of fulfilling their functions and upholding their dignity.[70]

Study of the Jesuits and the cult of Saint Louis in the early seventeenth century might include not only an examination of Jesuit churches, but also of what Jesuits preached and wrote about Louis IX. Among the abundant literature ripe for examination are the many works of Etienne Binet (1569–1639), preacher, writer, teacher and Jesuit superior.[71] For example, in 1622, Binet preached a series of 22 sermons during Advent and at Christmas at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, the Parisian parish adjacent to the Louvre. Though the main focus is on the birth of Jesus, Binet incorporates Saint Louis into these discourses. Exhorting his audience to imitate the saints that were most devoted to the Virgin Mary, Binet cites Saint Louis and claims that he founded and assisted hospitals and religious houses where Our Lady was honoured.[72] Binet's Saint Louis was zealous in his service of God and the poor. For Saint Louis, as Jesus was born poor, in a stable, and died poor, on the cross, how could one not love the poor who are his members? For Saint Louis, as God had given him so many good things, how could he give nothing in return?[73]

A somewhat younger contemporary of Binet was Nicolas Caussin. A Jesuit preacher and prolific writer, Caussin (1583–1651) was also for a short time confessor to Louis XIII. Père Caussin's *opus magnum* was *La Cour sainte*, first published in 1624 in one volume.[74] Subsequent editions – and there were many – grew to as many as five volumes.[75] Seeking to demonstrate that royalty, aristocrats and other persons in the world could live good, holy lives, Caussin presented many examples drawn from the Bible and the Middle Ages. From French history, his examples include Clotilde, Charlemagne and Saint Louis.

In a work celebrating the victory of Louis XIII over Huguenot rebels at La Rochelle in 1628, Caussin asserted that disaster falls upon French kings who fail to follow God's laws, while victory belongs to kings who follow them.[76] Caussin placed Louis XIII firmly on the positive side of this divide, comparing him to Clovis, Charlemagne and Saint Louis. Thus, Clovis made an alliance between true piety and the French sceptre; Charlemagne 'merited' sainthood and is viewed as

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70 Ibid., pp. 10–12.

71 For a list of Binet's works, see Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (9 vols, Brussels, 1890–1900), vol. 1, pp. 1488–505.

72 Etienne Binet, *L'entrée royale de Iesus-Christ au monde* (Rouen, 1630), p. 229.

73 Ibid., p. 385.

74 This was an in-octavo work of some 800 pages, published in Paris by Chappelet.

75 For a list of Caussin's works, see Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. 2, pp. 902–27.

76 Nicolas Caussin, *Le Triomphe de la Piété: A la gloire des Armes du roy, et l'amiable reduction des Armes errantes* (Paris, 1629).

a saint by the people; Saint Louis was the 'best king' the earth has ever seen and that heaven has ever 'enlightened'; 'our Louis' [XIII] began from his most tender years to take the path of piety and Christian sanctity.[77] Caussin continues: God, in order to confound our vices, puts before our eyes a king humble in sovereignty, chaste in pleasures, devout amidst the charms and diversions of the court. At La Rochelle, the sanctity of Louis XIII shone on his entire army; never did 'devotion and the sword' make a more familiar alliance.[78] In the 'generous nobility' that fought the rebels at La Rochelle was the 'same blood that had formerly warmed the heart of Saint Louis unto conquest of infidels'.[79] The Catholic soldiers who fell at La Rochelle will henceforth have heaven for their rest, France for their tomb, and the 'honorable reputation of their virtues' for their epitaph; they 'voluntarily immolated themselves' for God, for the king, for their fatherland.[80]

While Caussin repeatedly suggests parallels between the Muslims fought by Saint Louis and the Protestants fought by Louis XIII, the Jesuit writer nevertheless insists that Louis XIII did not treat La Rochelle and its inhabitants as if conquered. The king entered the city not as a 'conquered city', but as a great hospital, in order to feed the hungry, care for the sick and bury the dead; to cries of 'Long live the king', he distributed 10,000 loaves of bread to the starving multitude.[81] In this not too subtle manner, Caussin suggests parallels not only between Louis XIII and his royal ancestors and predecessors, Saint Louis especially, but even parallels between Louis XIII and Jesus Christ feeding the multitude (as in John 6:1–15) .

In his essay on how to be a Counter-Reformation saint, Peter Burke points to tensions and interactions in the creation of saints: between clergy and laity, between learned and popular culture, and especially between centre and periphery. In the growing clerical and in particular papal control of who was and who was not declared to be a blessed or a saint, Burke found a case of balance shifting away from the periphery toward the centre.[82] In conclusion to this chapter I would like to suggest that in the cult of Saint Louis, as propagated in the first half of the seventeenth century in France, we may have an interesting case of not papal but royal centralism at work centuries after papal canonization. And yet it is not at all clear that the monarchy could control the ways in which Saint Louis was praised,

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77 Ibid., pp. 19–20.

78 Ibid., pp. 22–4.

79 Ibid., p. 91.

80 Ibid., pp. 138–9. On the role of Catholic notions of sacrifice in the development of French national consciousness, see Ivan Strenski, *Contesting Sacrifice: Religion, Nationalism, and Social Thought in France* (Chicago, 2002).

81 Caussin, *Le Triomphe de la Piété*, pp. 101–5.

82 Burke, *Historical Anthropology*, pp. 48–50. Concepts or theories of interaction between centre and periphery have informed much of Burke's work; it may be better to say that his work has informed and developed theories of centre and periphery. See, for example, Burke's *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford, 1998) and his *History and Social Theory* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 79–84.

honoured and held up as an exemplar for both his royal descendants and in some ways – for example, Saint Louis as exemplar of a good death – for all French Catholics to follow. To the extent that writers and preachers and other panegyrists of Saint Louis presented him as an example of the unity of piety and kingship for the Bourbon kings such as Louis XIII to follow, they may have been lauding an ideal in fact impossible to follow, at least in the early modern era. Promotion of the cult of Saint Louis may have helped to create totally unrealistic expectations in seventeenth-century France for a model of pious kingship, expectations that even the relatively devout Louis XIII could not meet, much less his successor Louis XIV.[83] Dashed expectations of a saintly king may have helped to weaken the French monarchy well before the French Revolution.

[83] On challenges faced by a king said to be sacred, see Alain Boureau, *Le simple corps du roi: L'impossible sacralité des souverains français – xve–xviiie siècle* (Paris, 2000).

Chapter 10
How to Look like a Counter-Reformation Saint[1]

Helen Hills

> 'Draw not nigh hither,' says the Lord to Moses; 'put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground' (Exodus, 3,5).
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> Making the absolute appear in a particular place – is that not a very general characteristic of religion?[2]

Reform meant the search for new forms: a desire for new churches, cloisters, seminaries, abodes and territories – not simply new repetitions, but new forms.[3] Inventiveness regarding the appearance of Counter-Reformation saints formed part of that search for new forms, new faces and, perhaps more surprisingly, a new sense of place. It is my contention here that the production of the bodies and faces of saints and would-be saints was an essential part of the cultural project of Catholic Reform in Italy and was intimately linked to producing new notions of locality – that is, altered political configurations.[4] The visual depiction of sanctity was not simply an added extra – a bolt-on, dispensable, illustrative addition to the non-visual; it was a fundamental aspect of Catholic Reform informing its very core. To imagine the faces and sufferings of saintly beings, past and present, fundamentally altered what Catholic Reform could be; their visual figuration produced new emotional experiences and changed what Catholic Reform was. Michel de Certeau has argued that 'the mystical body was the intended goal of a journey

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[1] This chapter can be seen as an illustrated coda to Peter Burke's pioneering essay 'How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint', which opened up a whole new horizon to scholarship. Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 48–62.

[2] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (London, 1988), p. 382.

[3] See Michel de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable. Vol. 1: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. Michael B. Smith (Chicago and London, 1992), pp. 1–31, 79–112.

[4] The distinction between 'would-be saint', 'holy' individual and 'saint' is *sanctio*, official recognition by an *auctoratis*, which sanctity requires. See Anna Benvenuti, 'Introduction', in H.C. Peyer, *Città e santi patroni nell'Italia medievale* (Florence, 1998), p. 9. For portraits of would-be saints, see Helen Hills, '"The face is a mirror of the soul": frontispieces and the production of sanctity in post-Tridentine Naples', *Art History*, 31/4 (2008): 547–74.

that moved, like all pilgrimages, toward finally the site of a disappearance'.[5] I am concerned here with the holy body and its *appearance* – how it was made to appear. There was discourse (a *logos*, a theology etc.), but it lacked a body, either social or individual. In reforming a Church, founding a community, constituting a (spiritual) 'life' and preparing (for oneself and others) a body to be raised in glory, the production of first a body and a face was fundamental to the formation of baroque holiness.

I suggest that we need not only to conceive of the making of a patron saint as an important event in early modern Italian devotional and urban history, but also of the city itself as an *event* in holiness and sanctity. Both sanctity and the city were subject to renewed attention in baroque Italy.[6] While the mapping of early modern cities has received considerable attention, the conceptual redrawing and visual reforming of cities in baroque culture in relation to saint and relic has not.[7] Historians and art historians have energetically explored Counter-Reformation sanctity and its depictions, and the development of early modern cities and their visual representations in painting, maps and prints; but their inter-relationship has received less attention.[8] Indeed that relationship, as figured

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[5] De Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, pp. 79–80.

[6] The term 'baroque' can be useful for designating an emphatic Catholic emotive complex visual aesthetic which, in chronological terms, coincides more or less with the Counter-Reformation and runs into the mid-eighteenth century. See Christine Buci-Glucksmann et al., *Puissance du Baroque: Les forces, les formes, les rationalités* (Paris, 1999); Robert Harbison, *Reflections on Baroque* (London, 2000); Vernon Hyde Minor, *The Death of the Baroque and the Rhetoric of Good Taste* (Cambridge and New York, 2006); Helen Hills, 'Beads in a Rosary or Folds of Time', *Fabrications – JSAHANZ*, 17/2 (2008): 49–71.

[7] For mapping of early modern cities, see J. Pinto, 'Origins and development of the ichnographic city plan', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 35/1 (1976): 35–50; J. Schulz, 'Jacopo de' Barberi's View of Venice: map making, city views, and moralized geography before the year 1500', *Art Bulletin*, 60 (1978): 425–75; David Woodward (ed.), *Art and cartography: Six Historical Essays* (Chicago and London, 1987); Helen Hills, 'Mapping the Early Modern City', *Urban History*, 23/2 (1996): 145–70; Cesare de Seta (ed.), *Tra oriente e occidente: Città e iconografia dal XV al XIX secolo* (Naples, 2004).

[8] Outstanding in its concern with the city–saint relation in the scholarship of the last 30 years is Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981). Studies of sanctity of particular import include André Vauchez, *La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge d'après les process de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome, 1981); Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000–1700* (Chicago and London, 1982); S. Boesch Gajano, 'Il culto dei santi: filologia, anthropologia, e storia', *Studi Storici* 23 (1982): 119–36. The not always helpful tendency among early modernists to analyse sanctity predominantly in terms of difference between Catholic and Protestant has usefully attenuated in the last 15 years or so.

in a remarkable number of artworks of the period, has been largely ignored by art historians.

This chapter explores the staging of the relationship between saint and place, especially via the relic, in key art works of southern Italy, with particular attention to the place of the city. Thus it contributes to scholarship interrogating sanctity in relation to place; but it does so by departing from a conception of holiness as located within the divine or the saint, to conceive instead of place particularly the city, as part of a relationship with holiness rather than simply its location. Drawing on the work of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, I mobilize the idea of space as intensive, fluid and mobile rather than static and extensive in this regard.[9] To the relation city–saint, the role of relic, reliquary and reliquary chapel are treated as central. Since through the relic a saint could be present in heaven and on earth simultaneously, in the relic both the non-localizable quality of sanctity and the quality of space as intensive rather than extensive are at their sharpest.

The relationship between saint and place via the relic was not simply reactionary (as repeatedly claimed by recent scholarship), reaffirming place in terms of ancient miraculous events – it was also productive. Visual depictions of saints did not simply give form to pre-existing ideas about sanctity; they were a vital part of its production, altering its course. Through the relationship with the relic, the traditional system of urban signs – the bishop and the city walls – was refashioned between the middle and late medieval period into an iconographic scheme that was exclusively western: a St Petronius for Bologna, San Geminiano for the eponymous city, Terenzio for Pesaro, with hand outspread to rule and support an entire city.[10] Relics occupied an ambiguous position at the crossroads of the mundane and the divine. The saint's relic was at once historical, bearing the *gesta* of the saint; but it was also celestial, representing someone invisible, omnipresent and eternally alive. It was this ability to occupy both directions simultaneously forward and back, heaven and earth, and (unlike Christ) to be still unequivocably embodied that gave saints' relics their authority and power.[11]

It was not simply that saints made places sacred; in the visualization of sanctity place was reshaped – made *ganz anders*.[12] This chapter investigates the

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[9] These ideas, derived from Deleuze, are developed further below.

[10] See Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, p. 8. On the iconography of bishop-patron saint, see Alba Maria Orselli, 'I Santi vescovi', in Claudio Leonardi and Antonella Degl'Innocenti, *I Santi Patroni: modelli di santità, culti e patronato in Occidente* (Carngate, 1999), p. 40. The relationship between female saint and place is more difficult to map.

[11] See Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, trans. E. Jephcott (Chicago and London), 1994.

[12] Rudolf Otto characterizes the numinous as *ganz andere* – something wholly other. He sees the numinous itself as induced by the revelation of divine power, such as religious fear before the fascinating mystery (*mysterium fascinans*), terror before the awe-inspiring mystery (*mysterium tremendum*) and majesty (*majestas)*. Rudolf Otto, *Das Heilige: über des Irationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen* (Munich, 1917).

relationships between canonized saints and place or city, in baroque Rome and Naples. I examine the relationships between the female saintly body and place in the production of intensified spiritual experience. Thus this chapter addresses radical alterities – relationships between holiness, femininities and death/life – in the production of the face of sanctity, the place *par excellence* of difference.[13]

I suggest that the renewed cultural interest in the city in early modern Italy was closely related to changing conceptions of sanctity, especially patronal sanctity, and that that relationship received important formulation in art. A detailed examination of the contours of that relationship lies outside the scope of this chapter, but some artworks appear to propose that the city rather than the individual sinner might be the object and form of saintly protection, and thence salvation.[14] I suggest too that the gendering of sanctity has implications for conceptions of the urban. Attention to the relationship between female sanctity and place does not merely add to our knowledge of the relationship in baroque culture between city and sanctity, but significantly alters that understanding: if holiness was gendered, then the holy urban may also have been in some sense gendered.

Throughout, this chapter is concerned with art, and specifically the staging of holy place and holy face, in terms not of what they *mean*, but of what they *do*. It considers the art object less materially than relationally, and in terms of relations not as additional, but as intensificational. Thus saints and place are seen less as passive location for spiritual event than as active presence in constituting holiness.

The Place of the Saint

The presence of the sacred in localized space was a major issue in the theological disagreement between Catholics and Protestants. Catholics insisted on the divine presence in the Eucharist, while Protestants did not. Nevertheless, the modern assumption persists that God, to whom the faithful prayed in post-Tridentine culture, was in heaven and that the locus of divine power was supraterrestial and

[13] Literature on sanctity and femininity remains focused on the medieval period and on early modern mysticism: Amy Hollywood, *Sensible Ecstasy: Mysticism, Sexual Difference, and the Demands of History* (Chicago and London, 2002); Hélène Cixous and Catherine Clément, *La Jeune Née* (Paris, 1975); Michel de Certeau, 'Mysticism', *Diacritics*, 22 (1992): 11–25; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982); Sharon Farmer and Barbara Rosenwein (eds), *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts* (Ithaca, 2000), esp. pp. 153–71.

[14] This is not to suggest that theologically anyone might accede to grace spontaneously (this was a significant issue in Catholic polemic against Protestants); always a process of reflection was required, but it is to recognize that the visual and the theological were not necessarily coherent, and that to read paintings in exclusively or predominantly theological terms is reductive. I explore the question of the city-saint in my forthcoming book, *The Matter of Baroque Holiness*.

unified. Yet in the 1970s Richard Trexler problematized modern assumptions about the *place* of religion in *trecento* and *quattrocento* Italy. His work rendered obsolete any simple assumption that the numinous was supraterrestrial, that the source of power was one (the Godhead), that the *quattrocento* Italian was 'Newtonian in his religion', with 'no *confusion* as to the locus of power' (my italics).[15] Despite these insights, the idea of 'civic ritual' conceived by Donald Weinstein and popularized by Edward Muir remains largely unchallenged; and religious historians continue to treat visual representations of saints and place not so much as catalysts for or agents of change in conceptions of the city and/or sanctity, but as passive depositories of ideas formulated elsewhere – in political, social and religious conditions conceived as lying outside the visual.[16] The question of the significance of gender in patronal sanctity, and its consequences for visualization of the city, has also been largely overlooked.[17]

With regard to visual depictions of saints, Hubert Damisch has explored with great acuity the distinction, both visual and discursive, between an earthly register where the laws of weight obtain and a celestial register in which attraction seems to operate in contradiction to the norms of this world, *da sotto in su*.[18] However, he was concerned neither with the places that representation of holiness can produce topographically or architecturally, nor with their religious and political activation. Art historians of the early modern era have generally been concerned more with

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[15] Richard Trexler, 'Florentine Religious Experience: The Sacred Image', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 19 (1972): 7–41, esp. p. 8. I take issue here with the assumption that holiness/power has a single 'location' and that to think otherwise is a sign of early modern 'confusion'.

[16] Donald Weinstein developed the idea of 'civic ritual' and Edward Muir secured its prominence. D. Weinstein, 'Critical Issues in the Study of Civic Religion in Renaissance Florence', in C. Trinkhaus and H.A. Oberman (eds), *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion* (Leiden, 1974), pp. 266–7; Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981). Even Moshe Sluhovsky tends to resort to a mimetic reading of visual representations, in spite of a more critical reading of non-visual sources. M. Sluhovsky, *Patroness of Paris: Rituals of Devotion in Early Modern France* (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1998). I develop my critique of the notion of civic ritual in my forthcoming book, *The Matter of Baroque Holiness*.

[17] Useful work on patron saints includes Hans Conrad Peyer, *Stadt und Stadtpatron im mittelalterlichen Italie*n (Zurich, 1955); Giovanna Fiume (ed.), *Il Santo patrono e la città. San Benedetto il Moro: culti, devozioni, strategie di età moderna* (Venice, 2000). For a reading of the patron saint in instrumental terms, see Steven Kaplan, 'Religion, Subsistence, and Social Control: The uses of Saint Genevieve', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 13/2 (1979–1980): 142–68. For Naples's patron saints in particular, see note 30 below.

[18] Hubert Damisch, A *Theory of |Cloud| Toward a History of Painting*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Stanford, 2002). Curiously, his insights have been taken up little by early modernists.

cults of saints than with either the heaven–earth or the saint–city relation.[19] Their explorations of paintings of saints, which have focused overwhelmingly on the qualities and emotions inherent in sanctity and the redemption of the individual, have left exposed the question of how the relationship with heaven via a saint might infuse places on earth with holiness.

Architectural historians have fruitfully examined individual buildings for the imprint of conceptions of sanctity; and some have ventured beyond individual buildings to search for ways in which the sacred seeped out of the 'hot spots' into street shrines, house facades and buildings which might seem to be predominantly secular.[20] However, the question of how the city *as a whole* was conceived and visualized through and in relation to saints, and the concomitant question of the relationship between images of the city and notions of (patronal) sanctity, has dropped out of focus.[21] Likewise, scholarship concerned with the relation of patron saints to the urban has proceeded via studies of individual buildings or concentrated on the socio-political aspects of their cults.

This chapter focuses on specific artworks to explore the relationships between sanctity, would-be sanctity and gender. It opens with a consideration of two contrasting sculptures – Stefano Maderno's famous *St Cecilia* (1600) (Fig. 10.1),

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[19] For Counter-Reformation depictions of saints, see Bert Treffers, 'The Arts and Craft of Sainthood,' in Beverly Louise Brown (ed.), *The Genius of Rome 1592–1623* (London, 2001), pp. 338–72. An attempt to consider audience and reception is Pamela Jones, 'The Power of Images: Paintings and Viewers in Caravaggio's Italy', in Franco Mormando (ed.), *Saints and Sinners* (Chestnut Hill, MA, 1999), pp. 28–48.

[20] Important studies of individual buildings include Alexandra Herz, 'Cardinal Cesare Baronio's Restoration of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo and S. Cesareo de' Appia', *Art Bulletin*, 70 (1988): 590–620; for consideration of the religious outside the ecclesiastical, see Michael Camille, 'At the Sign of the "Spinning Sow"', in Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley (eds), *History and Images: Towards a New Iconology* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 250–51. A not entirely successful attempt to compare different urban dynamics in relation to saintly images on the streets of Venice, Florence and Naples is Edward Muir, 'The Virgin on the Street Corner', in Steven Ozment (ed.), *Religion and Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Kirskville, 1989), pp. 25–42.

[21] The city as locus of sanctity is usually treated in socio-political terms: see, for instance, Natalie Zemon Davis, 'The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth-Century Lyon', *Past and Present*, 90/1 (1981): 40–70; Paolo Golinelli, *Culto dei santi e vita cittadina a Reggio Emilia* (Modena, 1980); Alba Maria Orselli, *L'immaginario religioso della città medievale* (Ravenna, 1985); Jodi Bilinkoff, *The Avila of Saint Teresa* (Ithaca, 1989); Gérard Labrot, 'Le carnival des reliques', *L'arte*, 9 (1970): 28–48. For holiness in relation to materiality and the built environment, see Thomas M. Lucas SJ, *Landmarking* (Chicago, 1997). Louise Marshall offers fresh readings of sacred images during plagues, but in retaining Richard Trexler's notion of 'framing of the sacred' she persists in thinking of 'a ritual landscape' as occurring *within* the city (rather than *including* the city). L. Marshall, 'Confraternity and Community', in Barbara Wisch and D. Cole Ahl (eds), *Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 20–46, esp. p. 21.

itself a sort of honorary relic, and Carlo Schifano's relatively unknown reliquary *St Irene of Thessalonica* (1733) (Fig. 10.3) – to spotlight the production of place or city in relation to gendered sanctity. While holy place is usually figured in terms of bishop-saints, my spotlight deliberately falls on female saints to explore the importance of place in figuring female sanctity. The two saints whose representations are discussed here were both long dead; but how were modern, contemporary saints imagined in seventeenth-century Italy? And did their depiction depend equally intimately on the production of place?

Inventio of Saint and Place

Saints did not simply make places sacred; in the visualization of sanctity, place – whether a particular locale or a major city – was reformulated, made *ganz anders*.[22] The role of the relic as the embodiment of non-homogenous space is central to a concept of holy space or the place of the saint as inherently non-homogenous and intensive rather than extensive.[23] Thus if holiness operated through relics to displace place, we need in turn to consider what this meant for the place of holiness and the holy city.

Rome's claim to be *città sancta* lay in its concentration of particular holy localities rather than in any special relationship between saints and the whole.[24] The classic Roman Counter-Reformation saint was linked to a specific locus through death, specifically through martyrdom and burial: places throughout the city were linked to sanctity through bloodstained soil.[25] Relics were frequently regarded not merely as prompts to holiness, but as the saints themselves, already living with

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[22] See Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (New York, 1961).

[23] Relics and reliquaries were special objects of devotion in terms of place, always embodiments of non-homogenous holy space, but especially in baroque art which makes special claims with regard to fluidity, movement, and the slippage of the fold. See G. Deleuze, *Le Pli: Leibniz et le Baroque* (Paris, 1988); for a corrective to any glib transposition of fold and baroque, see Anthony Vidler, *Warped Space* (Cambridge, MA and London, 2000), pp. 219–33.

[24] For an exemplary discussion of 'Holy Rome', see Frederick J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Princeton, 1995).

[25] The bodies of saints and *brandia* became in the west a central focus for veneration. Augustine proposes the power of the saints and their relics as a sign and guarantee of the possibility of the final resurrection of all bodies through analogy with the resurrection of Christ. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, xxii, 8; S. Boesch Gajano, 'Verità e pubblicità: i racconti di miracoli nel libro XXII del *De Civitate Dei*', in E. Cavalcanti (ed.), *Il 'De Civitate Dei'. L'Opera, le interpretazioni, l'influsso* (Vienna, 1996), pp. 367–88; Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, ed. A. de Vogué (Paris, 1979), ii, 38, pp. 246–8. See also John M. McCulloh, 'The Cult of Relics in the Letters and Dialogues of Pope Gregory the Great', *Traditio*, 32 (1975): 145–84.

God in pure and glorified bodies that ordinary mortals would achieve only at the end of time. At the end of the world the saint's body would rise and be glorified; in the meantime, the saint continued to live and work through the relic. Crucially, the cult of relics emphasized the body as the locus of the sacred in an ambiguous relationship to *place*.[26] Thus if holiness operated through relics to displace place, we need to consider what this meant for the place of holiness and the holy city.

Stefano Maderno's *St Cecilia* (1600) is perhaps the best example of this (Figure 10.1). The sculpture shows the saint at the moment of her death, but also at the moment of her body's subsequent discovery/recovery, or *inventio*; that is, as holy relic – proof of Cecilia's sanctity (in the purity of her fleshly body) and the potential for redemption of others that a relic gives. Seventeenth-century sources insist on the authenticity of the sculpture as much as that of the relic.[27] They insist the sculpture shows Cecilia's body as it was found on its excavation from the catacomb: 'as we saw, we recognized, and adored', claimed Cesare Baronio.[28]

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[26] For Aquinas the human person is a tight and integral union of soul and body. The soul survives the death of the body, but the full person does not exist until matter (the body) is restored to its form at the end of time, St Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on 1 Cor. 15*, lect. 2. On the cult of relics, see especially P. Dinzelbacher and D.R. Bauer (eds), *Heiligen Verehrung in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Ostfildern, 1990); Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York, 1995); and 'The Female Body and Religious Practice in the Later Middle Ages', in M. Feher, R. Naddaff and N. Tazi (eds), *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, Part I (New York, 1989), p. 163; P. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1994), p. 202; Alain Joblin, 'L'attitude des Protestants face aux reliques', in E. Bozóky and A.-M. Helvétius (eds), *Les Reliques: Objets, Cultes, Symboles* (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 123–41; Jean-Claude Schmitt, 'Les reliques et les images', ibid., pp. 145–68; F. Scorza Barcellona, 'Le Origini', in A. Benvenuti et al. (eds), *Storia della santità nel cristianesimo occidentale* (Rome, 2005), pp. 52–61; S. Boesch Gajano, 'La strutturazione della cristianità occidentale', ibid., pp. 105–8; E. Bozóky, 'Voyages de reliques et demonstration du pouvoir aux temps féodaux', in *Voyages et Voyageurs au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1996), pp. 267–80.

[27] Marc'Antonio Boldetti, *Osservazioni sopra i Cimiterj de' Santi Martiri, ed antichi cristiani di Roma …* (Rome, 1720), p. 300. See also F. Caraffa and A. Massone, *Santa Cecilia Martire Romana: Passione e culto* (Rome, 1996).

[28] Cesare Baronio, *Annales* (Venice, 1604), vol. IX, pp. 507, 604. Antonio Bosio dedicated to Cardinal Paolo Sfondrato a special publication on the *passio* of SS Cecilia, Valerian, Tiburtius and Maxminus, and of Popes Urban and Lucius. In it he claimed he was not a witness of the *cognitio*, but saw the relics when they were displayed for public veneration before being placed under the main altar: 'In that *loculus* can be seen located the statue of the Blessed Virgin Cecilia made of white Parian marble. It is exactly how her holy body was found placed in the old coffin, for it lies clothed in an extremely gauzy dress that reaches to her feet; she lies on her right side with her face turned towards the *confessio* as if trying to flee the gaze of onlookers; her head is shrouded in cloth; [and] one can distinguish her hands extended from her body, and her slightly bent knees.' Antonio Bosio, *Historia Passionis Virginis B. Caeciliae Virginis …* (Rome, 1600), pp. 170, 172–3. For a reading of this sculpture as a 'fulfilment of contemporary liturgical concerns', see T. Kämpf, 'Framing

Figure 10.1 Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome: view towards east end with Stefano Maderno's *St Cecilia* (1600) Photo: © Helen Hills

The sculpture thus portrays her body at the moment of death, of martyrdom and relic at the moment of discovery (Fig. 10.1 and Fig. 10.2). It thereby seeks to combine historical truth, represented by the archaeological discovery of the saint's body, with spiritual truth, her martyrdom, thus both combining the spiritual 'origin' with the historical (archaeological) discovery, and collapsing place and event.[29] Or, more precisely, it combines two different sorts of 'origins' of the contact point between human and divine: the end of the human being, the beginning of the spiritual being, together with the *inventio* of the saint's relics. The sculpture shows spiritual truth both as confirmed by archaeology (history, knowledge, place) and as beyond it (history, knowledge, place are radically reconfigured by sanctity). It transforms place itself into relic, a spring of holiness. The basilica of Santa Cecilia

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Cecilia's Sacred Body: Paolo Camillo Sfondrato and the Language of Revelation', *The Sculpture Journal*, 6 (2001): 10–20.

[29] Bosio, *Historia Passionis*, pp. 1 and 7. According to Bosio, St Cecilia's body lay 'extabat serico, atque fusco copertum velo, subterque velum vestes aureae virginei sanguinis notis respersae fugaci tenuique fulgore translucebant'. Ecclesiastical historiography, such as Cesare Baronio's *Martyrologium Romanum* (Rome, 1584; 2nd edn, 1586) and the monumental work of the Bollandists, *Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur* (published from 1643) sought to legitimate relics conceptually and historically.

in Trastevere, where the statue occupies a key position in front of the main altar, is thereby reinscribed, in relation to year zero, back to the beginning, the origin, and therefore represents the end of something old and the beginning of something new. Thus to start at the end is to start at the beginning.

St Cecilia's body bears the wound of martyrdom (Figure 10.2).[30] The wound is turned to the viewer, even as the face is turned away. The wound, like a mouth replacing a mouth, is an opening to something, as if to utter something of the ineffable, the point of entry to the beyond. The body lies before us, facing us, chastely beautiful, the face swivelled away; the wound marks the turning point between body and head, between visible and ineffable – visible wound and unseeable eyes. The wound is the point at which spirit and matter become one, the start of something new. The wound that marks the death of the subject marks the opening to martyrdom, the transformation of body into relic. The relationship between self and Other is presented as this gaping slit, this dumb mouth, a departure from history (continuity, human time). The main altar thus becomes the point at which historical time (the finding of the body) meets spiritual time through the martyred body (the relic), meeting at that juncture which is severed at the wound. But it is something

Figure 10.2 Stefano Maderno, *St Cecilia* (1600). Detail of neck wound. Photo:© Helen Hills

[30] God became incarnate and died for the sins of others; therefore all bodily events (including the terrible wounds of martyrs) were possible manifestations of grace.

'new' that is positioned outside historical time. It is the end of history and the start of that which is beyond the edge of history. Here visual analogy represents the embodiment of spiritual faith. Spirituality is embodied at the point where it is disembodied. This is what the Tridentine concern with the relic proffered, and which has been too hurriedly smoothed out by historians into a linear history.

Figure 10.3 Carlo Schifano, *St Irene of Thessalonica* (1733), silver and gilt silver reliquary. Treasury Chapel of San Gennaro, Naples. Photo: © Helen Hills. By permission of the Eccellentissima Deputazione della Real Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro

St Cecilia shows how in Counter-Reformation Rome investment produced the place – place was not simple location of an historical event; the place of martyrdom was produced through (the visualization of) the body of the saint, not the other way round. However, in Naples Carlo Schifano's reliquary half-length figure *St Irene* is a radically different sacred configuration, which stages holiness as dislocation (Figure 10.3). Far removed from *St Cecilia*'s embodiment of the stasis of the place of martyrdom (that is, martyrdom as the guarantee of the holiness and stasis of place), *St Irene*, which celebrates one of Naples's many patron saints, produces radical dislocation but is concerned with the city of Naples *as a whole*.[31] In this sculpture the territory of the holy is unhomogenous, unstable and imperilled, even as that territory is conceived in relation to the entire city.

Moreover, while *St Cecilia*'s holiness is earth-bound and horizontal (via bloodstained earth and death), *St Irene*'s axis is emphatically vertical. This difference shifts engagement from the affirmation of a holy place to allow the question of redeeming a city as a whole. What if we were to think of the spiritual network as also productive of the city? By this I do not mean to engage directly with the absolute of a transcendent, but a vertical network of entries and exits, imposing a frequency, effecting intensifications of matter – inert, living or human. Thus it is important to think of what might be termed 'holy maps' (depictions of cities viewed from above in relation to saints) in terms of *intensifications of holiness*, and not to assume that maps are concerned solely or even predominantly with the secular, the measurable and quantifiable.

Irene was one of Naples's numerous protector saints, and her reliquary is one of many added to the Treasury Chapel of San Gennaro in Naples Cathedral, from six wooden reliquaries by the sixteenth century to 51 silver reliquaries by the early twentieth century.[32] Protector saints were seen as 'advocates' and were charged with pleading the case of the protected before the heavenly court. Patrons were chosen for their capacity to make their voices heard, along with those of their

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[31] St Irene was elected patron saint of Naples in 1719; the sculpture was made in 1733, but not located in the Treasury Chapel of San Gennaro until 1760. E. and C. Catello, *Argenti napoletani dal XVI al XIX secolo* (Naples, 1973), p. 282; E. Catello and C. Catello, *Scultura in Argento nel Sei e Settecento a Napoli* (Naples, 2000), pp. 111–12. For St Irene, see *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome, 1995–2000), vol. 7.

[32] F. Capecelatro, *Degli Annali della città di Napoli, parti due (1631–1640)* (Naples, 1849), pp. 181–2. By the end of the sixteenth century Naples's seven patrons outnumbered those of any other city, and this figure rose to 32 by 1731. Jean-Michel Sallmann, *Santi barocchi: modelli di santità, pratiche devozionali e comportamenti religiosi nel regno di Napoli dal 1540 al 1750* (Lecce, 1996), pp. 83–4, 90. See also G. Galasso, 'Ideologia e sociologia del patronato di San Tommaso d'Aquino su Napoli (1605)', in G. Galasso and C. Russo (eds.) *Per la storia sociale e religiosa del Mezzogiorno d'Italia* (Naples, 1982), vol. II, pp. 215–49; G. Sodano, 'San Francesco di Paola: l'itinerario del santo e la diffusione del culto', in G. Vitolo (ed.), *Pellegrinaggi e itinerari dei santi nel Mezzogiorno medievale* (Naples, 1999).

protected people, and to bend to their ends the designs of Providence.[33] Gifts given to saints, like those to powerful men, were to bring to mind their debtors, to constrain them to deliver graces and benefits, and to show devotees' heart-felt support.[34] More than that, they represented the strongest of all religious impulses: to exchange powers with God, in a triangle of *virtù*: devotee, image, patron.[35]

Good treatment of relics was one way for Neapolitans to demonstrate respect for patron saints in order to receive their protection from volcanic eruption, plague, earthquake and other calamities. Therefore a new Treasury Chapel was begun in 1608 to replace a crowded small tower room, to fulfil a vow made during the plague of 1526–1528. Today it remains the most venerated sanctuary in the city, where the miraculous liquefaction of the blood of San Gennaro (Naples's principal patron saint) occurs twice a year when the head of the saint is brought into contact with phials of his blood.[36]

Schifano's reliquary, destined for the Treasury Chapel, shows the city of Naples held up to the saint by a winged putto (Figure 10.4). In its half-length body format, *St Irene* modifies the bust-length presentation of earlier reliquaries of Naples's patron saints, established in 1305 with the famous bust of San Gennaro. It continues to depart significantly from the standard formulation, both in its remarkable depiction of the city itself and in locating saint and city as unequivocally not on earth, even as Irene turns her face towards God. Indeed, it is St Irene's extroversion that transforms the city from mere attribute to central subject of the sculpture.[37] The disappearance here of St Sebastian is significant. St Irene appears in paintings from the early seventeenth century extracting arrows from Sebastian's body, against Diocletian's orders and at risk of death. Although St Sebastian was a universal plague saint, he had particularly strong ties to Rome, where he was cured, martyred and buried. Sundering St Irene from St Sebastian, therefore, frees the reliquary from direct connotations with Rome. Furthermore, in

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[33] See Galasso, 'Ideologia e sociologia', pp. 213–49.

[34] Sallmann suggests that the relationship between community and saint went beyond client–patron exchange, and was also a symbol of the hierarchical image of aristocratic society of the *Ancien Régime*. Sallmann, *Santi barocchi*, p. 130.

[35] On this relation, see ibid., esp. p. 102; Trexler, 'Florentine Religious Experience'; Giulio Sodano, 'Miracoli e ordini religiosi nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia (XVI–XVIII secolo)', *Archivio Storico per le province Napoletane*, CV (1987): 293–414.

[36] For the miracle and the chapel, see Franco Strazzullo, *La Cappella di San Gennaro nel Duomo di Napoli* (Naples, 1994). For the reliquary busts, see Elio Catello and Corrado Catello, *Scultura in Argento nel Sei e Settecento a Napoli* (Naples, 2000); [Deputazione della Real Cappella], *Museo del Tesoro di San Gennaro: Arte, cultura e devozione* (Naples, 2003).

[37] The sculpture's rhetoric positions St Irene above other patron saints in her close protection of the city. For the bust of San Gennaro, see É. Bertaux, 'Les artistes français au service de rois angevins de Naples', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXXIII (1904): 265–81; XXXIV (1905): 89–114, 313–25; Pierliugi Leone de Castris, *Arte di Corte nella Napoli Angioina* (Florence, 1986), p. 194.

Figure 10.4 Detail of the city of Naples from Carlo Schifano, *St Irene of Thessalonica* (1733). Treasury Chapel of San Gennaro, Naples. Photo: © Helen Hills. By permission of the Eccellentissima Deputazione della Real Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro

effectively replacing St Irene tending his wounded body with her direct protection of the city, reference to medicine as protector from plague is banished and St Irene promoted as key intercessor.[38]

There are, therefore, three divergent points of focus, one of which is situated off-stage: the city, the lightning bolt and heaven. Between them all is the saint (her relic at their heart). St Irene looks up to heaven (which remains invisible); with one hand she thwarts a thunderbolt; with the other she protectively touches the 'city'. The deictic aspect of location is upset here. Eye and touch are not aligned; protection and attention occur in successive displacements. The saint's presence is displaced through the act of intervention and attention. The saint is not all in one place; she is radically divergent. In the city – is it through the city? – the saint herself is deterritorialized. While St Cecilia's spiritual significance is produced largely through her reterritorialization (her identity and place of martyrdom and *invention* are inscribed through each other), the opposite is the case with *St Irene*. St Irene's extroversion localizes; it produces the city as object and liberates her from gravity. The city is presented as at stake: protected but therefore also imperilled. Naples's vulnerability could not be imagined more clearly; it lies entirely within the keep of St Irene.

Central here is the relationship between saint and city. Unlike the other silver reliquary busts of patron saints in the Treasury Chapel (and indeed elsewhere), here the city is evoked directly.[39] St Irene's depiction with a city is affirmed by Antonio Beatillo SJ in his *Historia della Vita, Morte, Miracoli, e Traslatione di Santa Irene da Tessalonica Vergine, e Martire*.[40] Her face, hands and body contours should be as beautiful as possible, he advises, but all immodesty should be avoided, especially nakedness of arms and breast, in accordance with the saint's own *mores* and prohibitions of the Council of Trent. As for attributes, he recommends a book to indicate the preaching of the evangelist, a lit lamp, a palm for martyrdom, a lily for virginity or an olive branch just as she appeared before

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[38] For saints Irene and Sebastian, see Sheila Barker, 'Plague Art in Early Modern Rome', in Gauvin Bailey et al. (eds), *Hope and Healing: Painting in Italy in a Time of Plague, 1500–1800* (Worcester, MA, 2005), pp. 47–9. Relevant paintings include: Giovanni Battista Vanni, *St Sebastian Tended by Irene*, 1625, S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini, Rome; Luca Giordano, *St Sebastian tended by St Irene*, Philadelphia Museum of Art; and several versions by Jusepe de Ribera, including *St Sebastian cared for by two pious women* (signed and dated 1621[?]), Bilbao, Museo de Bellas Artes. Another version of 1628 is in St Petersburg; for this see Alfonso E. Peréz Sánchez and Nicola Spinosa, *Jusepe de Ribera 1591–1652* (Naples, 1992), p. 142.

[39] In *St Emiddius*'s reliquary by Gaetano Fumo and Domenico D'Angelo (1735) the plinth supporting the saint assumes the role of hillside, with Castel Sant'Elmo and the Certosa at its summit and half a dozen domestic buildings on its sides. Thus, unlike *St Irene*, it seeks simply to conflate topography and sanctity, and there is no attempt to show the city as a whole.

[40] Antonio Beatillo, *Historia della Vita, Morte, Miracoli, e Traslatione di Santa Irene da Tessalonica Vergine, e Martire* (Naples, 1609), pp. 378–9.

King Saborius, but 'holding her hand over a city, or holding a city in her hand could be suitable'. This should, however, be done 'only in a city where she is venerated as patron and protector, such as Ephesus, Lecce, Thessalonica and so on'.[41] He cautions against this being done just anywhere, since this could conjure the mistaken belief among the ignorant that such saints are 'universal patrons of the earth and of every city'.[42]

The form of the city that St Irene protects is of particular interest (Figure 10.4). It is a model, a form that is rare and that possesses the aura of knowledge shared by maps. Produced in one cast, it is a feat of technical virtuosity; but that is not what will be discussed here. Of concern here is the conceptualization of sanctity and city and their inter-relationship. The city is shown as a system of architecture and topography, abstracted and already seen from a divine point of view. Two things in particular are notable. First, it departs significantly from earlier depictions in maps or paintings of protector-saints-with-city, which depend on hierophanic clouds to mark the relationship between saint and city.[43] Pierre Miotte's *City of Naples* for instance (Figure 10.5) presents Naples as if seen from out to sea, separated from the range of patron saints and the Virgin above by a hierophanic bank of clouds. Indeed, it is that separation that guarantees saintly protection.[44]

Even in paintings which depict direct intervention by a patron saint, there remains a bank of clouds between city and saint marking the distinction between the earthly and the holy. Most spectacular in this regard is Jusepe de Ribera's *Saint Januarius (San Gennaro) in Glory*, painted before 1636 and probably the first painting to show San Gennaro, Naples's principal patron saint, protecting it from Vesuvius after the terrible eruption of 1631 (Figure 10.6). This painting shows the saint borne aloft by clouds and angels, between a heaven that is barely intimated and an earth which is fleetingly glimpsed far below. The saint, whose pyramidal solidity contrasts dramatically with his etherial surroundings, and even with the evanescent city, looks upwards beyond the heads of cherubim, barely visible through heavenly cloud, and raises his hand in blessing over the city below. Far below both saint and viewer extends the Gulf of Naples. Beyond Castel Sant'Elmo in the high foreground the land drops abruptly to the curved sweep of the bay, where the city of Naples is picked out in silver flecks through a misty haze; and in the furthest hazy distance erupts Vesuvius. The viewer is positioned here almost alongside the saint, who unequivocally operates between heaven and earth, apparently more solid and dependable than either.

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41 Ibid., p.387.

42 Ibid., p. 386.

43 This is central to Hubert Damisch's fundamental discussion of |cloud|. Damisch, *Theory of |Cloud|*, esp. pp. 38–81.

44 *La Cita di Napoli*, published in Rome by GB Rossini (1648). Every sacred space implies a hierophany, an 'irruption of the sacred that results in detaching a territory from the surrounding cosmic milieu and making it qualitatively different'. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, p. 26.

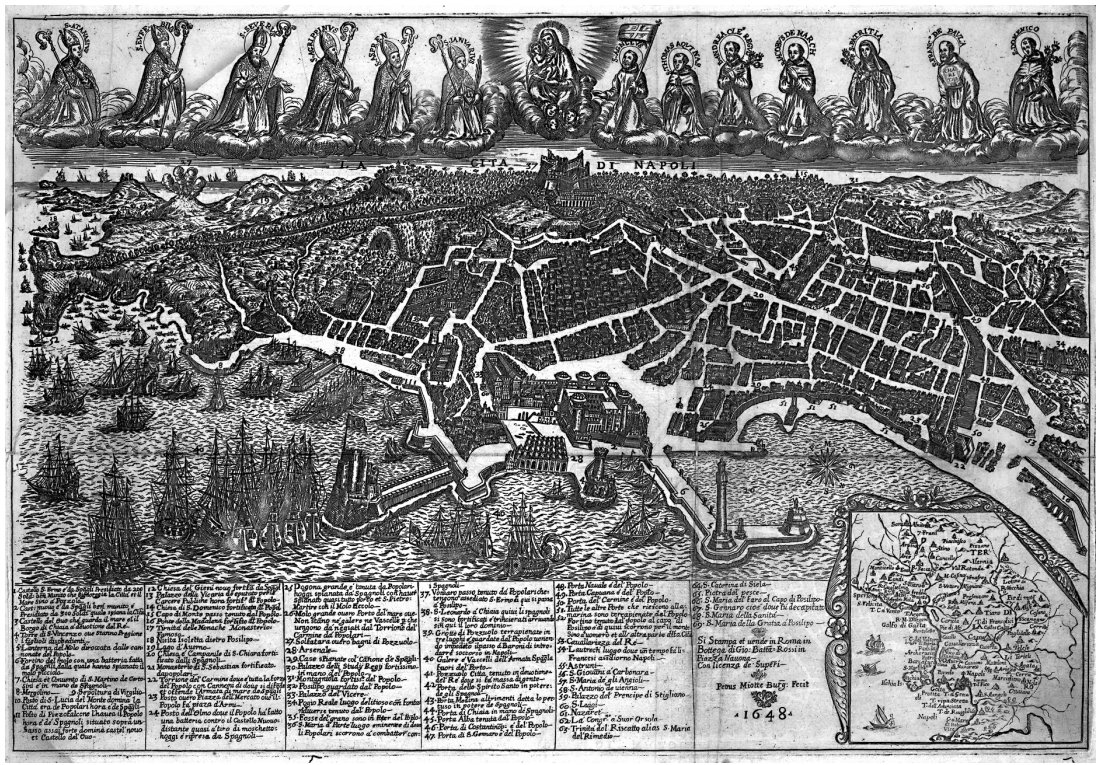

Figure 10.5 Pierre Miotte, *La Cita di Napoli*, published in Rome by G.B. Rossini in 1648, 36.5 × 54 cm. Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa, Naples. Raccolta d'Arte della Fondazione Pagliara, inv.27. Photo: Massimo Velo. By permission of Università degli Studi Suor Orsola

Figure 10.6 Jusepe de Ribera, *San Gennaro in Glory* (recorded in 1636). Convent church of the Agustinas Recolletas de Monterrey, Salamanca

Second, the reliquary does not figure Naples as earth-bound, with the saint either swooping down to its aid from heaven or situated loftily at a distance from it. Instead distance is destroyed by the city's elevation to the heavenly realm. To achieve that elevation the city itself has to be reconfigured, abstracted and decontextualized. This contrasts sharply with the conventional relationship between city and saint, such as *San Gennaro Halting the Eruption of Vesuvius in 1631* (Figure 10.7), one of a series of engravings representing episodes in the life of San Gennaro, which adorns Niccolo Carminio Falconi's lavish *L'Intera Storia di San Gennaro* (1713).[45]

Here the city of Naples, delineated in loving detail, is both source of anxiety (under threat from Vesuvius) and subject of divine protection. The ostensibly apolitical/disinterested viewpoint adopted for the image elevates the viewer above its mean streets, halfway to heaven, slightly below the figure of St Januarius himself, who surges upwards on thunderous clouds, surrounded by winged putti, to intervene between heaven and earth, his hand raised to protect the city by staunching the deadly lava flow. The saintly here is all elevation, movement and mediation to preserve the city in its orderly immobility; while in *St Irene* the surrounding landscape, sea and Vesuvius itself have been cut away, leaving the city as model. While the same construction of the point of view over the city continues to be developed, it is neither the same point of view nor the same city now that both figure and ground are in motion through the divine. The city becomes literally groundless as it is abstracted. Space is shifting, flexing and jumping. The more it is saved, the more it is under threat.

Desire for toponymic and geographical knowledge is mobilized into (and by) desire for redemption. Against the static bloodstained earth of *St Cecilia* we have in *St Irene* an agitated city in the air (compare Figures 10.1 and 10.3). Doubly so when the reliquary was – as it almost certainly was – carried out of the cathedral and across the city during processions. Such a city is never a single, homogenous, totalizable space; but is divisible, foldable and catastrophic.

The Christian use of images of cities as *ex votos* dedicated to protective saints and intercessors is long-standing. One of the first examples is a Justinian mosaic in Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, in which Constantine offers Byzantium to the Virgin. The powerful saint in juxtaposition with a vulnerable city evokes the image of Christ as *Salvator Mundi*, or of God the Father as *Creator Mundi*. It bears with it the imagery of the sovereign in his majesty, globe in his hands or at his feet. What does it mean to make the city into a map or model for a saint, both in terms of its status as image and its oneiric and mythic implications?

On the one hand, St Irene looms large, with the city represented as a model, as if on a board, held up by a winged putto.[46] By lifting up the city to the saint,

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[45] Niccolo Carminio Falconi, *L'Intera Storia della famiglia, vita, miracoli, traslazioni, e culto del glorioso martire San Gennaro* (Naples, 1713). For an image, see Helen Hills, 'The Face is a Mirror of the Soul', p. 562, fig. 12.

[46] The base of the city in the sculpture is flat.

Figure 10.7 *San Gennaro halting the eruption of Vesuvius in 1631* from Niccolo Carminio Falconi, *L'Intera Storia della famiglia, vita, miracoli, traslazioni, e culto del glorioso martire San Gennaro*, Naples: Felice Mosca, 1713 (in folio) © British Library Board. All Rights Reserved. Shelfmark: 663 k.20

the sculpture views the viewer's world as from another world. On the other hand, the city's diminutive size is undercut by the insistence on detail. This attention is such that Naples's broad topography, its streets and even individual buildings are readily identifiable. Such a depiction reflects a desire for completeness – but it is a completeness in which the city is tabulated and swept up. We see it as if on equal terms with St Irene, as if we are the divine (Michel de Certeau's 'voyeur-god') considering a 'representation' made to us by a distant place that, in making that representation, itself becomes merely a representation.[47] Thus there is an oscillatory movement of scale at work between the city and the model, apparently in inverse proportion to the saint's emotional investment. As Christian Jacob has observed, 'maps establish a new space of visibility by their distancing of the object and their replacement of it by a representational image, even if this image is of the most mimetic kind'.[48] The reliquary adds the pleasure of a miniature model to the synoptic effect. Miniaturization, a visual condition of intellectual mastery in which the reduction of scale and the plunging gaze allow for physical domination of the object, is contrasted to other movements of the eye and mind – especially the spiritual journey of a believer, the vertigo of infinity and the incommensurability between saint and city (and viewer).[49] The image of the city as fixed locus is unsettled through the movement of its elevation towards the saint.[50] Reterritorialization of the city, its relocation in its natural field, becomes indefinitely delayed since this would also mean turning away from the saintly and the divine. Viewed as a depiction of Naples it is isolated, deracinated, obscurely contained within a block. Viewed as a relief model, on the other hand, it is steeped in symbolic mastery – affirming the saint.

Thus the viewer is simultaneously compressed and increased in size and scope in relation to the city. She is situated within and without the city, at once on a level with the saint herself and yet also reduced to a miniature speck in the city which, in turn, is precariously held up in the midst of nothing, unsupported except by faith. Thus even as the worshipper receives reassurance of saintly protection, the indispensability of that protection is borne in on her not only by the saint's upturned eyes – her own divine dependence – or through the thunderbolt and the hand that stays it, but above all through the miniaturization of the city and its divorce from its earthly surroundings. The oscillation in scale which the sculpture establishes in the viewer's relationship to the city is profoundly and literally unsettling. The very elevation of the city to divine heights paradoxically serves to

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[47] See M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley, 1984), p. 93.

[48] C. Jacob, *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History* (Chicago and London), 2006, p. 2.

[49] The dialectics is of reduction and expansion, 'one of the keys to baroque imagination', ibid., p. 319.

[50] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (London, 1988), *passim*, esp. pp. 310–50.

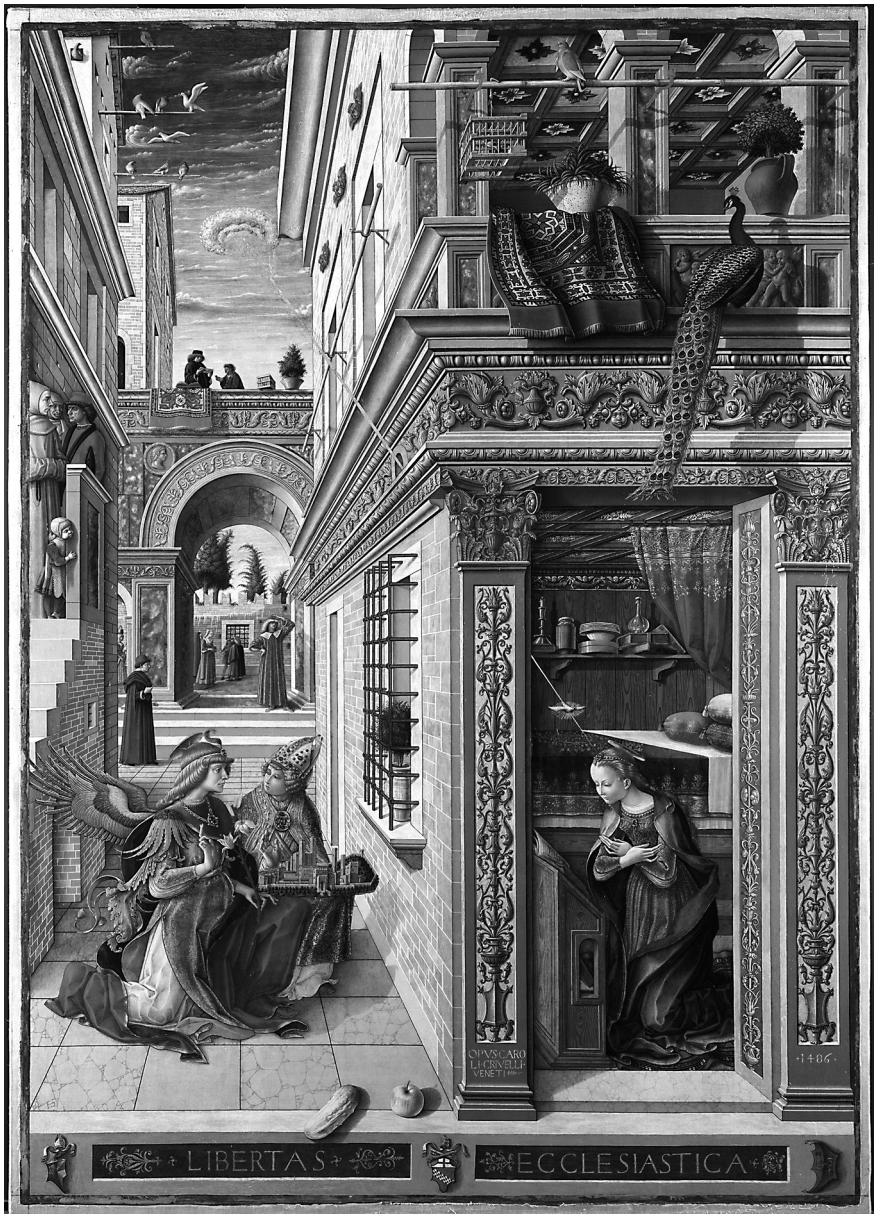

Figure 10.8 Carlo Crivelli, *The Annunciation with St Emidius* (1486). Egg and oil on canvas. 207 x 146.7 cm. Presented by Lord Taunton. © The National Gallery, London

intensify anxiety rather than provide reassurance; it bears home its precariousness and the undependability of its fate. The saint does not hold the city in her calm embrace or nurture it with loving gaze, as in Carlo Crivelli's classic representation of a saint with a model, *The Annunciation with St Emidius* (Figure 10.8).[51] Nor in *St Irene* is the realm of the city earthly; it is torn out of the ground, isolated from its natural surroundings. Rather the realm of the city is one of oscillatory movement – how still, by contrast, the lightning bolt! – through scale and space, between the human and the divine. Here in the purview of the saint we see the 'unrepresentationability' of the city in any single system of representation. The saint, usually mobile (swooping down) in relation to the city, here remains aloft; the city, usually immobile, here becomes mobile, portable.

The intensification of identity which the sculpture sets in motion is both sacred and profane, and works to destabilize existing identities. The viewer's sense of self is dissolved in this oscillation – as in Gianlorenzo Bernini's *St Teresa*, where the cost of Teresa's religious experience is the loss of subjectivity. But in *St Irene*, unlike the *St Teresa*, the dissolution is not only experienced by the viewer (rather than by the depicted subject); it occurs not through an intensity of religious experience (as in *St Teresa*), but through religious *proximitie*s.

In *St Irene* material distinction – the city held aloft, viewed as if by God – and spiritual encounter are at play, and under tension. The representation of the city as a small 'model city' is more than mere metonymy – affect is detached from any readily localizable individual subjectivity. It eliminates history, while remaining a mnemotechnical device suited to anchor visually the markers of an individual or familial destiny. The metaphoric world of the miniature city makes everyday life both anterior and exterior to itself. The kind of knowledge thus constituted is closer to an experience of a material and affective language resembling cries than a discourse of a concept.

Conclusion

In this discussion of the figurations of relationship between saint and city, I have mobilized Deleuzian theory to trace how holiness itself is shown as dislocation; the discovery that holiness is marked in place only shows more clearly that holiness eludes place. In 'holy maps' of baroque Naples, holiness or the saint has only a directional relation with geographical location, not a dimensional or metric one; and its relation to space is intensive, not extensive. Thus holiness might usefully be thought as 'hydraulic' – as distributed by turbulence and productive of a movement that holds space and simultaneously affects all its points – instead of being held by space in a local movement from one specified point to another.

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[51] See note 37 above. For the Crivelli painting, see Giannino Gagliardi, *L'Annunciazione di Carlo Crivelli ad Ascoli*, ex. cat. (Ascoli Piceno, 1996).

While San Gennaro or St John of the Cross, miracle-working male saints, secure a reordered relation between the registers of city and divine, St Irene has the reverse effect. Holiness in the guise of female sanctity has no place here; she is already somewhere else. She is displacement. Relics embody Christianity's sanctification of history and place, which is always provisional, always requiring confirmation. *St Irene* suggests that this is a process of infinite deferral. *St Irene* stages not a travelling to, not a pilgrimage by a believer, but a *dislocation*. This is not simply dislocation of the worshipper, but a demonstration of the dislocation that is holiness's place. Thus place in *St Irene* is the place of difference, of dislocation, because it is holy and involved in redemption. In the Treasury Chapel of San Gennaro holy space pertains to a specific mode of enunciation – the enunciation of the relic (that is of the possibilities and the predicament) of salvation through the city. We would do well to remember that 'holy place' is never one, neither homogenous nor totalizable, but is always divisible, foldable and catastrophic.

Chapter 11

Against Propaganda: The Juxtaposition of Images in Early Modern France. Reflections on the Reign of Louis XII (1498–1515)

Nicole Hochner

The purpose of this chapter is to reflect on the design of early modern political representations. Special focus will be given to the reign of the French king Louis XII (1498–1515), whose study has remained in many respects a relative *terra incognita* in between the legendary 'Spider King', Louis XI (1461–1483), whose tyrannical reign was until recently considered the ultimate stage of the French state building process,[1] and the brilliant Francis I (1515–1547), who personified the magnificence of rule. While studies analysing the question of political representations opt usually for strong authoritative kingships or evident cases of premeditated propaganda, I have chosen, on the contrary, to focus on a 'weak' leader apparently lacking a coherent project of self promotion and who refrained from (or was he just unsuccessful?) discharging his duty of majesty and greatness. In addition to analysing a specific case study, this chapter will also reflect on the terminology used in studies of political imagery and representations revisiting, in particular, the concept of propaganda, the notion of 'fabrication' as suggested by Peter Burke and the notion of *bricolage* as employed by Claude Lévi-Strauss. This study does not ignore, but will not systematically explore, the wide spectrum of other notions borrowed from the theatre's world, such as the French *mise en scène*, Victor Turner's concept of 'social drama', Clifford Geertz's 'theatre state' and Guy Debord's *société du spectacle*.[2] Nor will it explore alternative metaphors inspired

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[1] See J. Russell Major, *From Renaissance Monarchy to Absolute Monarchy* (Baltimore, 1994), pp. 12–16.

[2] More concepts can be added, such as the notion of liturgy or the idea of catharsis that is, for some, considered as the aim of pageants and invoked in the growing literature on emotions and politics. See Victor Turner, *Schism and Continuity in an African Society* (Manchester, 1957); Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre-State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton,1980); Guy Debord, *La société du spectacle* (Paris, 1992 [1967]). See also Georges Balandier, *Le Pouvoir sur scènes* (Paris, 1980) and Murray Edelman, *Constructing the Political Spectacle* (Chicago, 1989).

by our modern consumer society, such as the selling or marketing of a logo or icon, often related to post-Marxist notions of making, inventing, shaping or constructing political images and consciousnesses (with only divergent degrees of alienation, manipulation or domination). If representations are no longer considered faithful reflections of reality, studying the formation of a political *imaginaire* cannot be limited to the interpretation of political images and myths or to the artistic and literary representations of political heroes and kings alone. Thus, some preliminary definitions and clarifications of the notion of representation are necessary.

In German, for example, 'representation' can be translated by four different terms: as an image (*Darstellung*), as perception (*Vorstellung*), administrative representation (*Vertretung*) or political representation (*Repräsentation*).[3] Usually representation refers to the principle of a body of public figures representing the community of citizens or embodying the state or city. Thus the metaphor of the body (*corpus mysticum*) and the correlated juridical idea of *persona civitas* have been central to the semantic fields of political representation since pagan Antiquity, through Christianity and up to modern and secular times.[4] But representation refers also to the way life is perceived and conceived. Even if heroes and legends are products of fiction, they personify collective ideas and mirror ideals. Therefore, historians consider them as the reflection of anxieties and dilemmas, sometimes of a particular mood, climate or *mentalité* of a society, a community or an era. Sarah Maza has made a typology of our experience of the social world while distinguishing objective material factors from social practices and collective imagination; this third and last aspect is defined as 'the cultural elements from which we construct our understanding of the social world'.[5] Edward P. Thompson and Pierre Bourdieu, different as they may be, have both revisited the Marxist notion of class consciousness for this purpose to show how social identities are constructed by language as well as by cultural practices.[6]

Historians have approached representations not only as constructive of our reality and of the social categories we use, but also as vectors of collective

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[3] I am indebted here to Gérard Noiriel, *Qu'est ce que l'histoire contemporaine?* (Paris, 1998), p. 146. See also Hasso Hofman, *Repräsentation. Studien zur Wort und Begriffsgeschichte von der Antike bis ins 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1998 [1974]). I owe this last reference to Peter Burke.

[4] The literature on the body metaphor is vast, so I will only refer to a few studies: Tilman Struve, *Die Entwicklung der organologischen Staatsauffassung im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1978); Cary Nederman, 'Body Politics: The Diversification of Organic Metaphors in the Later Middle Ages', *Pensiero Politico Medievale*, 2 (2004): 59–87; and Paul Archambault, 'The Analogy of the Body in Renaissance Political Literature', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 29 (1967): 21–53.

[5] Sarah Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary 1750–1850* (Cambridge, MA, 2003), p. 10.

[6] See especially Edward P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963).

sensibilities and emotions (for instance Alain Corbin and Barbara Rosenwein).[7] Cornelius Castoriadis, in his unclassifiable *L'institution imaginaire de la société*, demonstrates that society continually seeks to find in the imaginary and the symbolic a necessary complement to its order.[8] Charles Taylor too links the idea of a moral order to the social imaginary, defined as 'that common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy'.[9] Thus, a mythology that comes to dominate a social imaginary – as studied by Anne Marie Lecoq in *François Ier imaginaire* or by Louis Marin in *Le Portrait du roi*[10] – has much to tell us about ideological controversies and political debate, in a way that constantly entangles cultural history with intellectual and political history. As Peter Burke wrote, 'all history involves representation, and all representations are part of history'.[11]

In his book, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, Peter Burke declares that he is not concerned with the king himself, his self-image or his image in the eyes of posterity. He precisely chooses to limit his research to Louis XIV in 'the collective imagination'.[12] Such a term, certainly reminiscent of Durkheim's concept of collective representations or collective consciousness, suggests, in Burke's case, a media phenomenon as well as a process of sacralization.[13] Burke's endeavour, according to his introduction, is the study of 'the public image of the king', so he is not so much concerned with how iconography is the generator of political definitions as with the stamp of Louis XIV's image on the collective imagination.[14] Hence, Burke is less preoccupied with the taxonomy of images than with the 'impression' created by the ways in which Louis XIV's image was embedded in the political consciousness of France. The hypothesis of Burke, who introduces his book as 'a case study of the relations between art and power, and more specifically

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[7] Alain Corbin, for instance in *Le Territoire du vide. L'Occident et le désir du rivage 1750–1840* (Paris, 1988); and Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2006). See also Walter Prevenier, 'Methodological and Historiographical Footnotes on Emotions in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period', in Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardins and Anne-Laure Bruaene (ed.), *Emotions in the Heart of the City (14th–16th century)* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 273–93.

[8] Cornelius Castoriadis, *L'institution imaginaire de la société* (Paris, 1975), p. 193.

[9] Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham, NC, 2004), p. 23.

[10] Anne Marie Lecoq, *François Premier imaginaire. Symbolique et politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française* (Paris, 1987); Louis Marin, *Le Portrait du roi* (Paris, 1981).

[11] Peter Burke, 'Presenting and Re-presenting Charles V', in Hugo Soly (ed.), *Charles V 1500–1558 and his Time*, (Antwerp, 1999), p. 393.

[12] Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, 1992).

[13] By *imaginaire social* or *conscience collective* Émile Durkheim does not mean, as Peter Burke himself emphasizes in his book, that everyone has an identical image of the king; on the contrary, collective imagination expresses the need to grasp the royal image in its entirety without masking its diversity or plurality.

[14] Burke, *Fabrication*, p. 1.

of the making of great men', is that we are dealing with a vast publicity campaign selling an image.[15]

It is important to note that Burke is reluctant to use the term 'propaganda' or to refer to any kind of cultural hegemony. With good reason, Peter Burke is well aware that despite cultural *dirigisme*, the government of the Academies was not in the hands of the Sun King. Jean de la Fontaine, for instance, is proof of such an assertion, as he would not have been elected to the Académie française if Louis XIV had been a true despot. When we deal with notions of representations, therefore, what is at stake is not only the question of design and impact but also the problem of agency. Which forces are at work to determine and influence political images?

Let us try first to understand Peter Burke's reluctance regarding the notion of propaganda. His first justification is because it is (in any case) anachronistic to use such a term before the era of mass communication. However, Burke's reservations are also embedded in the distinction between manipulation and magnificence. In the first case, subjects are convinced and persuaded by a specific intentional political message; in the second, they are awed by pomp and glory. Usually the second supports the first rather than being its opposite, which is why passions in politics are at least as central as ideas, and why emotions are no less important than ideologies. Bossuet, quoted by Burke, says that a kingly court is 'dazzling and magnificent' in order 'to make the people respect' the king, so that the duty of magnificence is directly related to the building of 'relations of domination'.[16]

Thus, what counts is not the message or the meaning of the spectacle itself but its performative affect, how exactly it triggers social action.[17] In order to involve its citizens emotionally the state has to be able to move them, which is why Peter Burke turns to Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959), to talk about 'impression management'.[18]

By definition, if propaganda is to be convincing and manipulative, it needs to be transmitted in a plain way that makes sense to most people, so that symbols and messages are correctly deciphered and recognized. In any attempt to seduce and impress, the precision and significance of symbols, myths or gestures are much

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[15] Ibid., p. 2. The notion of selling was used by Joe McGinnis in his book on Nixon, *The Selling of the President: 1968* (New York, 1969) as well as by Michael Sherman in his (unpublished) thesis 'The Selling of Louis XII, Propaganda and Popular Culture in Renaissance France, 1499–1514' (University of Chicago, 1974), but also, more recently, by Kevin Sharpe, *The Selling of the Tudor Monarchy* (New Haven, 2009), or Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton, 2008).

[16] Burke, *Fabrication*, pp. 4–5.

[17] Stanley J. Tambiah, 'A Performative Approach to Ritual', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 65 (1979): 113–69.

[18] Quoted by Burke, *Fabrication*, p. 8.

less critical, and may even be counterproductive.[19] For instance, the science of heraldry and the significance of effigies are matters for the initiated only. The way social ranks are visualized is sometimes so complex that only a narrow elite audience can work out the meanings of those images (or, at least, pretend to).[20] Thus royal propaganda does not need to persuade and transmit a consensual or clear message to the larger public, but the spectacle displayed by the power must definitely leave a stamp, which led Clifford Geertz to reach the well-known formulation that 'power served pomp, not pomp power'.[21]

The extravagance and lavishness of Louis XIV's *mise en scène* were indeed displayed in such an unprecedented way that his portrait alone came to dominate the political scene. More importantly, proof of a process of centralized planning is the establishment of cultural institutions which managed the whole cultural production. Such an institutional framework explains why time and again many studies analysing Versailles or Louis XIV's court adopt a bellicose and often exaggerated lexicon, talking about strategy, campaign or tactics. But a curious and revealing case can also be illustrated by the new title given to the French translation of Peter Burke's *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*. The book in French surprisingly became *Louis XIV: les stratégies de la gloire*, wrongly alluding to a warlike tactic of glory and pomp, concealing the fact that Peter Burke had made only a limited case for propaganda, through official medals, and discarding the notion of fabrication itself.[22]

According to Evonne Levy there should be a clear distinction between two very different ways of persuasion: rhetoric and propaganda.[23] Whereas propaganda 'is produced in an institutional context to further the aims of that institution, to create

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[19] See Pierre Smith, 'Aspects de l'organisation des rites', in Michel Izard and Pierre Smith (eds), *La fonction symbolique. Essais d'anthropologie* (Paris, 1979), p. 143.

[20] See Paul Veyne, 'Conduites sans croyance et œuvres d'art sans spectateurs', *Diogène*, 143 (1988): 3–22, or 'Lisibilité des images, propagande et apparat monarchique dans l'Empire romain', *Revue Historique*, 621/1 (2002) : 3–30. I thank Yann Lignereux for these references.

[21] Geertz, *Negara*, p. 13.

[22] It is interesting to reflect on the very different connotations of the two titles: the English suggests a process of making, while the French evokes more a propaganda device, especially since the two terms 'strategy' and 'glory' – absent from the original title – allude to a planned project aiming to produce spectacular and impressive effects. Yet clearly, a literal translation would not have worked either since 'fabrication' to a French ear sounds more like something connected to mechanical or industrial production, something concrete and tangible but artificial and deceitful, whereas the image of the king is by definition an imaginary production, a figuration that has the powers of an icon but cannot be restricted to the depiction of the image itself. The other reason for the new title was of course commercial.

[23] Evonne Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (Berkeley, 2004), p. 9. She is certainly not the only one to speak in terms of propaganda and early modern art; to cite only a few, see Jeffrey Chipps-Smith, 'Portable Propaganda – Tapestries as Princely Metaphors at the Courts of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold', *Art Journal*, 48/2 (1989): 123–9;

subjects', rhetoric seeks only to convince, but not necessarily to mobilize.[24] If we were to adopt such a distinction, then the patronage of Louis XII would certainly fall into the category of rhetoric. Jacques Ellul, in his book on propaganda, insists that the 'primary goal of he who operates propaganda instrument is efficacy. And one should never ignore this supreme rule because inefficacious propaganda is not propaganda'.[25] But if efficacy is not the target, it does not mean that a search for political identity is not under debate. Indeed, legitimation is a self-referential or self-justifying activity characteristic of all types of rulers.[26] In an attempt to revisit the Weberian concept of legitimacy, Rodney Barker, in his book *Legitimating Identities*, claims that elites are not trying to convince anyone either by force or by splendour, other than themselves. Thus, ruling elites are constantly making claims about their own legitimacy without necessarily trying to control and manipulate others, so that the formula offered by Clifford Geertz, concerning Balinese cockfighting, could be perfectly adequate to allow us to maintain that royal images are simply 'a story they tell themselves about themselves', if only such a story could be many-voiced, polyphonic or even cacophonic, as many and various agents are involved in such an enterprise.[27]

A shift from the notion of propaganda to that of rhetoric (or persuasion or publicity)[28] has thus two major consequences. First, that the court elite is almost the sole audience and the main consumer of this iconography; in other words it does not aim to reach a large number of subjects or the masses, which could explain the frequent lack of circulation or diffusion of texts and images on a large scale, and their sometimes intentional hermetic obscurity. Besides, the 'correct' interpretation requires usually some knowledge of Christian, chivalric, pagan, mythological or legendary sources, and often Latin (or Greek), which only the targeted narrow public possesses. Second, I believe that in the early modern period the shaping of a political image is rarely a resolute and centralized enterprise. Artists, painters, sculptors, engravers, poets and authors are not commissioned within a deliberate, wide, programmatic ensemble or within the framework of a precise ideology; rather each one tries to please and win the protection of a patron in their own

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and Paolo Cammarosano (ed.), *Le forme della propaganda politica nel due e nel trecento* (Rome, 1994).

[24] Levy, *Propaganda*, p. 11, pp. 56–64.

[25] Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*, trans. Konrad Kellen and Jean Lerner (New York, 1965), p. 6; cited in Levy, *Propaganda*, p. 12.

[26] Rodney Barker, *Legitimating Identities: The Self-Presentations of Rulers and Subjects* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 13.

[27] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), p. 448. See also Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 66.

[28] Victoria O' Donnell and Garth S. Jowett, *Propaganda and Persuasion* (London, 1986). The basic argument of the book is that 'propaganda is a form a communication that is different from persuasion because it attempts to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist', p. 1.

way.[29] The notion of propaganda is inappropriate whenever the whole symbolic production turns out to be incoherent or simply inconsistent. But a polyphonic or heterogeneous narrative has the advantage of being particularly illuminating when political controversies are at stake. Even if an image has something only rather vague to say about values (taste) and politics (order), it possesses a dual power, to express as well as to affect. Metaphors, myths and allegories transmit a sense of the normative order that can be affiliated to varied and even contradictory political ideas. Thus political representations should be seen as a palimpsest that is not necessarily efficacious, but necessarily multifaceted and hybrid.

Instead of looking for an omnipotent or omnipresent propaganda, I would argue that scholars need to recognize the disparity and diversity of voices, which can reveal dialogues and controversies within the elites (for instance merchant, religious, rural or intellectual elites). In such a way images are not a frame for a coherent ideology but the visualization of mutual obligations and mutual recognition, continuously negotiated and renegotiated between the different groups of the political community.[30] Their distortion of reality reveals therefore more than what their creation intended to hide in the first place.[31]

I shall now turn to my case study. Would it be accurate to talk about the fabrication of Louis XII the same way Peter Burke talks about the fabrication of Louis XIV? Should publicity, persuasion or propaganda be preferred? To answer such questions, the problem of agency must be addressed. I shall rely here on the main argument of my book, where I tried to show that Louis XII was reluctant to manage and establish an orthodox image of royalty, and I will venture some remarks on the nature of a visual and ideological sphere when not dominated by any hegemonic power.[32]

Jean Bouchet (1476–1557) praised Louis XII's reign as a time of free speech and tolerance. In an epistle written after Louis' death, he claimed that the king had protected satirical street theatres, and even encouraged their 'prickly satirical verses' ('*les vers satiriques, qui sont picquans*') as long as his wife was not mocked.[33] Bouchet's view could be confirmed by the fact that Pierre Gringore (1475–1538) was engaged by the court (through the municipal authorities of Paris), despite the fact that he was one of the major street playwrights of his time

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[29] Martin Gosman, 'Princely Culture. Friendship or Patronage?', in M. Gosman, Alasdair MacDonald and Arjo Vanderjagt (eds), *Princes and Princely Culture 1450–1650* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 1–29.

[30] Olaf Mörke, 'The Symbolism of Rulership', in Gosman et al., *Princes and Princely Culture*, pp. 31–49.

[31] Interestingly enough Roland Barthes, in his definition of myth, insists: 'Le mythe ne cache rien: sa fonction est de déformer non de faire disparaitre', *Mythologies* (Paris, 1957), pp. 205–13.

[32] Nicole Hochner, *Louis XII. Les dérèglements de l'image royale* (Seyssel, 2006).

[33] Jean Bouchet, *Epistres morales et familieres du traverseur* (Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1969), fol. 32v. See also Brantôme, *Receuil de Dames, poésies et tombeaux*, ed. Etienne Vaucheret (Paris, 1991), p. 14.

and an author well known for his audacity and critical satires.[34] That the town was ready to hire a highly ambivalent 'sycophant' to organize the royal entry in Paris is a remarkable phenomenon. One could argue that it was perhaps a way to neutralize Gringore's caustic verve, but it could also well be that Louis XII did not feel too threatened or anxious about theatre. As Sara Beam also suggests, Louis XII was astonishingly ready 'to tolerate some satirical portrayals of his policies'.[35]

Amazingly enough, Louis XII also refrained from promoting his most spectacular military victory after the unexpected defeat of Venice in 1509 at the Battle of Agnadello, or at least tried to cancel the celebrations. Letters and patents confirm that Louis XII prevented his officers from organizing large festivities on his way back from Italy in 1509. He sent precise instructions – almost a threat – to the town of Lyon: 'The king declared that he would refrain from going through this town if he knew that an entry was being planned.'[36] Knowing that they were planning a festive welcome, Louis urged them to stop everything. Lyon was already in the midst of preparations when an unusual order was received to put an end to the project. Indeed, the town officers had already agreed on the necessary budget for building triumphal arcs and trophies; an effigy in stone had already been commissioned from the sculptor Jean de Saint-Priest; and a royal gift had been voted for, but now everything had to be cancelled. Was his Christian humility staged or authentic reticence? But why would Louis decline these honours?

Besides, only a few weeks earlier, Louis XII had prevented the Milanese from destroying a few houses to create a larger entrance gate for a triumphal entry. If one can trust the poet Jean Marot, at the same victorious entry of Louis XII in Milan in 1509 the king refused to sit on the throne prepared for him in a triumphal chariot. By contrast, Pope Julius II certainly did not hesitate to enter Rome in the most triumphal way in 1513.[37] Does it make sense then that a French king would renounce displaying a living and glorious image of himself? Why be so reluctant over self-assertion and self-promotion when you are the king?

Here there is a tangible risk of being influenced too much by nineteenth-century historical commonplaces introduced, for instance, by Michelet or Lavisse claiming that Louis XII was a weak prince, while, in fact he might have been

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[34] See Nicole Hochner, 'Pierre Gringore, une satire à la solde du pouvoir?', *Fifteenth Century Studies*, 26 (2001), pp. 102–20. Cf. Jody L. H. MacQuillan, 'Dangerous Dialogues: The Sottie as a Threat to Authority', in Thomas J. Farell (ed.), *Bakhtin and Medieval Voices*, ed. (Gainesville, 1995).

[35] See Sara Beam, *Laughing Matter: Farce and the Making of Absolutism in France* (Ithaca and London, 2007), pp. 74–6.

[36] See Nicole Hochner, 'Le Trône vacant du roi Louis XII', in Philippe Contamine and Jean Guillaume (eds), *Louis XII en Milanais* (Paris, 2003), p. 241.

[37] Larry Silver, 'Paper Pageants: the Triumphs of Emperor Maximilian I', in Barbara Wisch and Susan Scott Munshower (eds), *All the World's a Stage: Art and Power in the Renaissance and Baroque* (University Park, 1990), pp. 292–330.

much more popular than modern writers tend to suggest. Indeed contemporary legitimacy and public opinion must be distinguished from historical mythography and posterity. And, yet, opinions on Louis were already contradictory. On the one hand, the leading French humanist, Guillaume Budé, rejoiced over Louis XII's death. In his book on Roman coinage, printed in 1515, Budé began one of his many digressions by depicting the joy of the French people at the news of the king's death; the two days of mourning were in fact days of festivity, the end of a nightmare that had gone on for far too long.[38] On the other hand, Claude de Seyssel – a jurist and diplomat – sought to show that Louis XII was the ultimate model of kingship, in his *Louenges du roy Louis douziesme* (1508), as did the humanist Symphorien Champier, who acclaimed Louis XII's domination of Italy in his panegyric *Triumphe du tres chrestien roy de France Loys XII* (1509).[39]

Claude de Seyssel was a member of the courtly ruling elite involved in a debate about the French aims in Italy, and therefore with the justification of the Milanese enterprise. It was important for him to emphasize that such support was completely distinct from flattery, and that glorification of Louis XII's deeds was not contrary to Christian humility. Seyssel stressed that his intention was not adulation but moral edification. To write about a living king was justified, in his eyes, not only by its capacity to arouse amazement but also by the benefits of wonder – that is, civic and political gains.[40] Seyssel tried to convince his readers that Louis XII deserved praise for his ability to modify and inspire an ultimate model of virtue. Consequently, he tried to prove that Louis was more worthy than all his French predecessors (including the legendary Charlemagne and Saint Louis). This novel reading of the French past apparently irritated many *detracteurs et mesdisans* who blamed Seyssel for his insolence and for being *temeraire et flateur*. These critics greatly annoyed Seyssel, who decided to compose an *Apology*. This text reveals not only the controversial status of the conventions of panegyrics, but also fascinatingly discordant opinions of the reigning king. Claude de Seyssel lauded Louis's restraint again in his political testament *La Monarchie de France* (1519), in which he recommended the 'father of the people' – or *père du peuple* as Louis was nicknamed by the estates in Tours in 1506 – as a model for his young successor Francis I. Seyssel's arguments in *La Monarchie* were linked to Louis's readiness to respect the French system of checks (embodied in his famous three bridles: *police*,

[38] Guillaume Budé, *Opera omnia* (Basle, 1557, repr. Farnborough, 1966–1969), vol. 2, p. 303, and *De Philologia*, ed. Marie-Madeleine de La Garanderie (Paris, 2001), pp. 5–6, 106–11. See also Hochner, *Louis XII*, pp. 131–2.

[39] Claude de Seyssel, *Les Louenges du Roy Louys XII (1508)*, Patricia Eichel-Lojkine and Laurent Vissière (Geneva, 2009) and Symphorien Champier, *Le Triumphe du tres chrestien roy de France Loys XII*, ed. Giovanna Trisolini (Rome, 1977).

[40] Erasmus himself was greatly preoccupied by his own panegyrical works; see his letter to Jean Desmarez in Lisa Jardine (ed.), *The Education of a Christian Prince* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 113–19, and Hochner, *Louis XII*, pp. 209–12.

religion and justice) which, according to him, were why a moderate and restrained monarchy was by far the most impressive and successful regime of all.[41]

Could it be that Louis XII's media agents were not good enough to 'spin' the idea of a father of the people? Or that the king's artists were simply not gifted enough? The names of Jean Perréal or Jean Bourdichon are certainly eclipsed by those of Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo, who declined several offers to work for the French court. The art historian André Chastel blames the French monarchs for what he calls 'a surprising void during half a century':

> Why apparently nothing of importance took place at the end of the fifteenth century … No orders were placed by royalty. No cultural impulse came from the prince's circle … no specific cultural dimension in the reigns of Charles VIII and Louis XII.[42]

Behind Chastel's argument lies the assumption that the absence of an active court brings cultural and artistic production to a halt, as if patronage could only come from court. However, many of the authors of this period composed their works on their own initiative, in the hope of gaining the favour of a potential patron but not necessarily following a royal order or according to a well-articulated propagandist project. Jean d'Auton, as early as 1499, began the redaction of the chronicles of Louis XII's battles in Italy on his own initiative. Symphorien Champier wrote his *Triumphe du tres chrestien roy de France* with no assurance of lucrative reward.[43] Even Gringore, commissioned by the municipal authorities of Paris to organize the 1514 entry of Mary Tudor (Louis XII's third wife), took charge of the publication of his own report after being discontented with official narratives. Other writers, such as Jean Lemaire des Belges, Jean Marot and André de La Vigne, turned to Queen Anne of Brittany, hoping perhaps that she would be more committed to promoting artists and authors, and more interested in fostering her own image.

The image of the king in France was therefore designed by a wide variety of agents and patrons: civil servants, members of the clergy, municipal officers, parliamentary dignitaries, commercial printers and artists of all kinds involved in the shaping of the realm's collective imagination. This is why it is misleading to talk about the image of the king, because we are dealing, in fact, with an array of many different visions and prisms which are not only dissimilar from one

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[41] On Seyssel's political theory, see the excellent English edition, *The Monarchy of France*, trans. J.H. Hexter (New Haven, 1981). See also Nannerl O. Keohane, 'Claude de Seyssel and Sixteenth Century Constitutionalism in France', *Yearbook of the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy*, 20 (1979): 47–83, as well as the authoritative William F. Church, *Constitutional Thought in Sixteenth Century France: A Study in the Evolution of Ideas* (Cambridge, MA, 1941).

[42] André Chastel, 'French Renaissance Art in European Context', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 12 (1981): 93–4.

[43] Champier, *Le Triumphe*, pp. 7–8, note 9.

another but often and inevitably contradictory. It is preferable then to talk about images in the plural, a polyphony in which the juxtaposition of various voices necessarily includes some that are incompatible. This plurality is of special importance in the late fifteenth century for two reasons: first, because of the print revolution and, second, because of a fundamental political debate taking place at the time in France.

It is true that print was introduced in France in the 1470s, but it was only in the very last years of the fifteenth century that the French kings really began to understand its political implications. For instance, while the first printed book entered the king's collection in Charles VIII's reign,[44] the first royal permission – and therefore the first indication of control on the printing press – dates from much later, in 1498.[45] Moreover, the first trials over intellectual rights and breach of copyright took place only during Louis XII's reign, with the pioneering lawsuits of André de La Vigne and Jean Bouchet.[46] What can be shown for texts is also true for illustrations: the introduction of new techniques in woodcutting and binding dramatically transformed books with images (often woodcuts).[47] Equally, the first known satirical broadside was printed in France in 1499.[48] The medallist's repertoire was also transformed by Italian techniques which turned numismatic portraiture from emblematic images into lifelike appearance (even with physiognomic profiles) and established a new kind of 'state device'.[49] So even though the invention of printing occurred two generations earlier, the changes it provoked in France were only fully effective and regulated during Louis XII's reign.[50]

In parallel with this media and artistic revolution, France experienced a kind of 'post-traumatic dispute' over the consequences of the controversial policies of

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[44] Ursula Baurmeister, 'D'Amboise à Fontainebleau: les imprimés italiens dans les collections royales aux XVe et XVIe siècles', *Passer les monts Français en Italie – l'Italie en France (1494-1525)*, X^e^ colloque de la société française d'étude du XVIe siècle. Études réunies et publiées par Jean Balsamo (Paris, 1998), p. 360.

[45] Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before Copyright: The French Books Privilege System 1498–1526* (Cambridge, 1990).

[46] Cynthia J. Brown, *Poets, Patrons, and Printers: Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca, 1995), pp. 17–59.

[47] Martin Warnke, *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist*, trans. David McLintock (Cambridge, 1993), and Yves Bottineau-Fuchs, *Peindre en France au XV^e^ siècle* (Arles, 2006), pp. 16–35.

[48] *Le Revers du jeu des suisses*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ea 17 réserve, 1, fig. 73; *The French Renaissance in Prints from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, exhibition catalogue, ed. David Acton et al. (Los Angeles, 1994), pp. 188–9.

[49] Robert W. Scheller, 'Ensigns of Authority: French Royal Symbolism in the Age of Louis XII', *Simiolus*, 13 (1983): 75–141, p. 82.

[50] For the Italian case, see Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, 1990).

Louis XI, the Spider King. Early modern historians have been so keen to underline the legitimacy of royal succession that they have sometimes underestimated the effect of Louis XI's death in 1483, which made urgent the need to redefine the limits of power and the procedures of legitimation in the French monarchy. In other words, behind the matter of the Regency the true issue at the General Estates of 1484 was the decentralization of the monarchy.[51] If, on the one hand, some supported the strengthening of royal authority and confirmed the superiority and efficacy of a central sovereign state, on the other hand, there were those who were left extremely perplexed (if not seriously anxious) by the abuses of power and the gradual denial of representative institutions and parliamentary independence (especially regarding tax issues). Adrianna E. Bakos, in her remarkable book *Images of Kingship in Early Modern France* (1997),[52] has understood perfectly the key role of Louis XI in French politics and his Janus-like figure as hero and villain. However, the debate over the proper limits of regal authority did not begin in 1560, as Bakos suggests, but as early as Louis XI's death itself. Therefore as early as the mid-1480s it was Louis XI's rule that embodied the fundamental dilemma between 'absolutism' and 'constitutionalism', or the eternal impasse between tyranny and popular chaos. This debate was not yet resolved in 1515.

In short, by Louis XII's reign there was a growing awareness of the power of print alongside a major debate over the dangers of a strengthening royal authority, or in other words, fears of a shift from a moderate monarchy to a more centralized authoritarian rule. Often Louis XII's reign has been seen as an inconsequential stage in the evolutionary progress towards the absolutist regime and the French Renaissance. According to this narrative, Louis XII was progressively transformed from a Christian king into an imperial Caesar, a gradual transformation which opened the way for Francis I.[53]

This evolutionary explanation, however, simply does not stand up to a methodical analysis of the chronology of the visual and textual material. André Chastel's characterization of Louis XII's reign as a political vacuum remains unconvincing, especially when taking into account Anne of Brittany's patronage between 1499 and 1514. Instead, we need to acknowledge the superimposition

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[51] For an analysis of 1484, see Neithard Bulst, *Die Französischen Generalstände von 1468 und 1484. Prosopographische Untersuchungen zu den Delegierten* (Sigmarigen, 1992). The famous speech by Philippe Pot is translated by John S.C. Bridge in *A History of France from the Death of Louis XI* (Oxford, 1921), vol. 1, pp. 77–80. For the question of decentralization, see Major, *From Renaissance Monarchy*, pp. 19–22.

[52] Adrianna E. Bakos, *Images of Kingship in Early Modern France, Louis XI in Political Thought, 1560–1789* (London, 1997).

[53] A notable example is Didier Le Fur's book entitled *Louis XII un nouveau César* (Paris, 2001), in which, according to such an analysis, the reign of Louis XII was the turning point between the forces of modernity and reaction. Cf. René de Maulde La Clavière, *Les origines de la Révolution française au commencement du XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1889); despite its title the book is devoted to the first four years of Louis XII's reign (1498–1502).

of a variety of images emerging from various repertories: Christian, pagan, mythological and chivalric. The association of the kneeling Christian king – the magnanimous pastor, the dazzling imperator, the classical hero (such as Hector), the invincible porcupine, the father of the people or the loyal knight – sometimes remains enigmatic, with no obvious reason why those choices were made and how they could be interpreted and justified.[54] If the task of the historian is to recover the 'period eye', as Michael Baxandall has so beautifully put it, then this period is not necessarily unaware of such disarray, but rather is tolerant towards such eclecticism and did not consider it an unbearable confusion. Furthermore, this is precisely what characterized the following generation, which could no longer tolerate such chaos and accepted the opinion that, under Louis XII, the *barbaric* French were still wading through a Gaulish scum (*inter merdas gallicas* to quote Erasmus in a letter written in 1499 to the Italian poet Fausto Andrelini living in France) or a medieval thick smog (*épais brouillard* to quote Rabelais).[55] Thus there needs to be enough room in our interpretation for oscillation and contradiction. As Patricia Eichel-Lojkine has shown in her book *Excentricité et humanisme*, eccentricity, derision and diversion all belonged to the French Renaissance.[56]

As history does not always tell a comprehensible and meaningful tale, it is not necessary to deny chaotic historical evidence in order to please evolutionary schemes or well-balanced narratives. Rather than declare the failure of interpretability, the eclectic material gathered here and the apparent incoherent representations of Louis XII show the recycling of past images – that is, the continuous reinvention and renegotiation of political myths and legends. The equivocal and polysemous data emphasize all the more clearly the political controversy which emerged from after Louis XI's death (1483) regarding the institutions of the monarchy of France. As I have shown, the debate in Louis XII's time schematically posed a moderate vision of limited monarchy (suggested, for instance, by Claude de Seyssel) against the idea that monarchy needed to be strengthened and consolidated with further privileges and rights (professed, for instance, by Guillaume Budé). It is not by chance that jurists in the early sixteenth century produced various lists of rights and recorded constitutional precedents in order to consolidate the king's *absolute* authority (*autorité absolue*).[57]

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[54] Hochner, *Louis XII*.

[55] See *Erasmus and his Age, Selected Letters*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York, 1970), p. 27; and for the letter written by Rabelais to his friend André Tiraqueau in June 1532, see *Œuvres complètes de Rabelais*, ed. Jacques Boulenger (Paris, 1941), p. 970.

[56] Patricia Eichel-Lojkine, *Excentricité et humanisme*, *Parodie, dérision et détournement des codes à la Renaissance* (Paris, 2002).

[57] As the term 'absolutism' is clearly a nineteenth-century creation, semantically the notion of 'being absolute' in the early modern period is positive and refers to perfection and completeness; see Fanny Cosandey and Robert Descimon, *L'Absolutisme en France. Histoire et historiographie* (Paris, 2002), pp. 14–18; Nicholas Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism: Change and Continuity in Early Modern European Monarchy* (London, 1992);

Even if the representation of a military triumph is more likely to be modelled on imperialist values, in opposition to the image of a humble king surrounded by his advisors – which is more likely to depict the ideal of a typical medieval *Mirror for Princes* – it is not always possible to determine what a particular ideology looks like. Images may be more powerful than words, but they are also likely to be ambiguous.[58] It is therefore not possible simply and systematically to associate classical representation with absolutist ideas, or religious images with a decentralized monarchy. In any case, the polysemous nature of political representations under Louis XII was sometimes located in a single and unique event or artefact. For instance, at Louis XII's entry to Lyon in 1507 the king was successively portrayed as a military hero crowned by the allegories of *Puissance, Force, Vaillance* and *Diligence*; as a noble knight saving the mythical Proserpine; as a powerful Caesar acclaimed by the philosopher Aristotle; and, finally, as a king admonished by *Chascun* (embodying the people), who prompts him to fulfil his duties as guardian of Justice.[59] In the same richly illuminated manuscript, which gathered together epistles written and probably presented to Queen Anne of Brittany, Louis XII is successively painted in the guise of the hero, Hector, as a champion of the true Church fighting the incarnation of the impostor Pope Julius II, and as a faithful knight writing to his spouse Anne (who cries writing her own epistle earlier in the manuscript). In another miniature, *Labeur* is painted in poor garments dictating his own epistle to a peasant boy, urging the king to favour his people's wellbeing over his Italian conquests. These exceptional images, attributed to Jean Bourdichon, mix together ideals as dissimilar as glory and humility.[60] They combine adulation and admonition: the exaltation of a belligerent hero with the simultaneous demand for a righteous king whose sole ambition should be the public good and the maintenance of justice and peace. The concurrent faces of the king, the discrepancies between referents and cultural backgrounds, embody the dialogic nature of political representations. Images of kingship dramatize social and political preoccupations by revealing how political legitimacy, or the normative foundations of the realm, was perceived in many diverse ways.

This dialogic nature of political representations can be depicted as publicity or rhetoric, but the term *bricolage* – introduced by Claude Lévi-Strauss in his book *La pensée sauvage* – also suggests the phenomenon of juxtaposition and

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Ronald G. Asch and Heinz Duchhardt (eds), *Der Absolutismus – Ein Mythos? Strukturwandel monarchischer Herrschaft in West und Mitteleuropa 1550–1700* (Cologne, 1996).

[58] See, for instance, Lawrence G. Duggan, 'Was Art Really the "Book of the Illiterate"?', *Word and Image*, 5 (1989): 227–51.

[59] See Hochner, *Louis XII*, pp. 83–4, 113–14, 179–82.

[60] See Tamara Voronova and Andreï Sterligov, *Les Manuscrits enluminés occidentaux du VIII^e au XVI^e siècles à la Bibliothèque nationale de Russie de Saint-Pétersbourg* (Bournemouth, 1996), pp. 200–205.

contestation.[61] *Bricolage*, according to Lévi-Strauss, illustrates the manner in which primitive people (*sic*) drew upon raw materials available in their environment to construct myths. In contrast to the civilized engineer, who progresses in a formulaic, abstract or methodical manner, the *bricoleur* is an everyday, improvisational, do-it-yourselfer who draws on materials that happen to be lying around.

In the term *bricolage*, the idea of improvisation dominates; but even more important is the idea that the *bricoleur* is an expert in recycling, as Lévi-Strauss says: 'His universe of instruments is closed and the rules of his game are always to make do with *whatever is at hand*'.[62] So the *bricoleur* sits next to his stock of materials and considers his treasury with new eyes. How can he redesign them differently? Maurice Bloch maintains that it is precisely because of this process of recycling that rituals 'constructed out of material already available' succeed in captivating and impressing us so much.[63] Bloch also maintains that the symbolic construction of authority is 'historically subsequent' to 'pre-existing elements', and he claims that it is precisely this feature that explains why rituals captivate.[64] This idea of recycling is the reason why the phenomenon of representations of power, or the *mise en scène* of a royal image, should be linked to the notion of *bricolage*, and perhaps to the notion of *ré-emploi* (re-employment) offered by Michel de Certeau.[65]

Lévi-Strauss suggests that mythical thought appears to be an intellectual form of *bricolage*. For him, myths are constituted out of fragments;[66] but, like a mosaic, the assortment of stones is influenced by the personality and creativity of the *bricoleur* himself no less than by the range and variety of stones available to him. The *bricoleur* 'speaks not only *with* things, as we have already seen, but also through the medium of things, by giving an account of his personality and life by

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[61] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago, 1966). The idea of *bricolage* is exploited in various domains, in literary studies as well as in education, in history as well as in anthropology where it originated. A survey of its legacy since the late 1960s is outside the scope of this project, but a few references can nevertheless be useful: Peter Burke himself borrows the term in *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1978), p. 123, to describe how low culture reassembles and reorganizes elements from high culture. See also Jean Comaroff, *Body of Power Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People* (Chicago, 1985); Deena Weinstein, *Heavy Metal* (New York, 1991); and Jean-Clément Martin, *Violence et Révolution. Essai sur la naissance d'un mythe national* (Paris, 2006).

[62] Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, p. 17.

[63] Maurice Bloch, 'The Ritual of the Royal Bath in Madagascar: The Dissolution of Death, Birth and Fertility into Authority', in David Cannadine and Simon Price (eds), *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 271–97.

[64] David Cannadine, 'Introduction: Divine Rites of Kings', ibid., p. 15.

[65] This was suggested by Peter Burke. Alas I was not able in this chapter to explore further this notion of *ré-emploi*, but see Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, pp. 76–8 and Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, 1984).

[66] Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, p. 21.

the choices he makes between the limited possibilities'.[67] As Richard P. Werbner rightly underlined, Lévi-Strauss made *bricolage* stand for the reconstruction of cultural debris from the past, but he gave *bricolage* 'no bearing on power or dominance'.[68] Thus, it departs from constructivist historians, such as Eric Hobsbawm in *The Invention of Tradition*, not only because it focuses on recycling rather than inventing but also because *bricolage* describes the formation of a political *imaginaire* with no specific agency or manipulative objectives.

If the difference between *bricolage* and propaganda is clear, the distinctiveness of the idea of fabrication should be specified. Peter Burke, in *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, gives two reasons for choosing the term. First, fabrication designates a process; second, fabrication is linked to the symbolic construction of authority. Following Louis Marin or Jean-Marie Apostolidès, Peter Burke highlights the incoherent nature of those images unable to become efficient propaganda.[69] Burke's approach stands in contrast to the American ceremonialist school influenced by anthropological models and the classic work of Ernst Kantorowicz, who believe in the ability of the political spectacle to modify and 'update a doctrine of paternalistic kingship around which a divided France might cohere'.[70] Instead, Burke emphasizes the inconsistencies of the texts and images 'concocted to represent the Sun King to his increasingly disempowered subjects'. Consequently, the *Fabrication of Louis XIV* is the story of a constantly revised representation, of a figure endlessly altered and redesigned.

Given that the construction of political imaginaries is dealing with a process of myth-making, it is fruitful to picture the construction of great men or the shaping of political legends and symbols as collective works of *bricolage*. Indeed, the absence of hegemonic structures and the phenomenon of superimposition can very well be described as a work of *bricolage* since images of royalty are conceived without logical unity and without imposed goals, yet without necessarily being at the expense of sacralization or mystification. The absence of apparent coherence in early modern French political imagination allowed the elite to debate and dispute the nature and limits of their monarchical regime.

Bricolage, therefore, could be a non-hegemonic alternative to the pretended propagandist attempts of omnipotent domination. I could then suggest that Francis I, who for various reasons was far more concerned with censorship and the promotion of his self-image than his predecessor, moves from a disordered image

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[67] Ibid.

[68] In a review article entitled 'The Political Economy of *Bricolage*', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 13/1 (1986): 151–6, p. 151.

[69] Louis Marin, *Le Portrait du roi*; Jean-Marie Apostolidès, *Le Roi Machine. Spectacle et Politique au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris 1981). See also Burke on his own book and its reception in *What is Cultural History?*, pp. 86–7.

[70] I borrow this sentence from an online book review of Abby E. Zanger's *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV* by Jeffrey S. Ravel in *H-France*, November 1998; http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=2510.

toward a more systematic and subsidized construction of glory and wonder; from a centrifugal fabrication to a more centripetal one; or, simply put, from *bricolage* to *fabrication*.[71]

In conclusion, what characterizes the gathering of cultural debris from the past, or what epitomizes the process of *bricolage*, is not a systematic 'use of history as a legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion',[72] but the improvisational process that leaves an unimpeded image of royalty. If the terms of fabrication, invention or construction, suggest a departure from propaganda, they all still refer to a conscious and rational making of power. *Bricolage*, in contrast, abandons such an authoritative quest.

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[71] Burke, 'Presenting and Re-presenting Charles V'; Lecoq, *François Premier*; and Robert Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge, 1994).

[72] Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in E. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 12.

Chapter 12

A Gymnosophist at Versailles: The Geography of Knowledge in the Iconography of Louis XIV

Nicholas Dew

I

In the 1660s and 1670s, Versailles was transformed from the small hunting estate used in the reign of Louis XIII into the most impressive royal residence in Europe. One of the most important parts of the building was the series of rooms (*salons*) known as the *grands appartements du roi*, which stretched along the northern edge of the C-shaped palace building. The use of a series of state rooms was a fairly standard design feature of early modern courtly palaces: the series could be used as a means of regulating access to the royal person, so that on occasions of state, such as ambassadorial audiences, visitors would be allowed to move through the rooms sequentially. The *grands appartements du roi* at Versailles were an adaptation of the series of state rooms that already existed in the Louvre, and were designed to follow more or less the same ceremonial rules. In Versailles, the rooms were to be decorated as part of a scheme designed by Charles Le Brun. Each room in the series was named in honour of a figure from classical mythology, and their ceilings were decorated accordingly: moving westward, the visitor would move though the *salons* of Venus, Diana, Mars, Mercury, Apollo and War, ending up in the great Hall of Mirrors.

The *grands appartements* could be studied as an example of how the architecture of a princely court represented power spatially, by controlling the movements of visitors through space. Several studies have shown how the layout of the state rooms structured the ceremonial life of the court, even while there was some flexibility in the function of the individual rooms. The direction in which visitors were to move through the *grands appartements* changed in 1682, for example, and the *salon de Mercure* (Hall of Mercury) acted as the throne room up until 1682, after which it became the royal state bedroom.[1] This spatial and sociological

[1] On the Versailles *appartements* in the context of older European palace design, see Hugh Murray Baillie, 'Etiquette and the Planning of the State Appartments in Baroque Palaces', *Archaeologia*, 101 (1967): 169–99, esp. pp. 182–93; for the *salon de Mercure* as the throne room in the period before 1682, see p. 188. Murray Baillie points out that the

approach to interpreting baroque palaces should certainly be borne in mind in what follows. My aim, though, is to follow an alternative route, one which we might label iconographic or rhetorical, by reading the decorative schemes of the rooms as part of that concerted project of royal representation that Peter Burke calls the 'fabrication of Louis XIV'.[2] Le Brun's scheme for Versailles is surely one of the most significant artistic commissions within this royal propaganda programme. The representational scheme did more than fashion an image of the king, though. Jürgen Habermas argued that in courtly political cultures (which he distinguishes from the civic or *bürgerlich*), the discursive realm of princely self-representation was coterminous with the 'public sphere'.[3] After all, one of the salient features of public discourse in a court society is the seemingly omnipresent patronage of the court itself. During the personal rule of Louis XIV, from the 1660s on, the Crown extended its influence over letters, the arts and the sciences, creating numerous 'royal academies' which took up new spaces in the existing institutional landscape and in the European 'republic of letters'.[4] This chapter's aim is to use the decorative

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French court was more relaxed in its approach to etiquette than many other courts, and that foreigners often remarked on how free the public's access to the royal space was. Compare the discussion of the Pitti Palace in Mario Biagioli, 'Galileo the Emblem Maker', *Isis*, 81 (1990): 230–58 and his 'Galileo's Travelling Circus of Science', in Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (eds), *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy* (Cambridge, MA, 2005), pp. 460–73. On house design and noble status in this period, see Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford, 1983 [1933]), pp. 41–65.

[2] Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, 1992). For differing, complementary accounts, see (among others): Louis Marin, *Le Portrait du roi* (Paris, 1981), available as *Portrait of the King*, trans. Martha M. Houle (Minneapolis, 1988); Jean-Marie Apostolidès, *Le Roi-machine: spectacle et politique au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1981); and, specifically on the artworks in the palace, Gérard Sabatier, *Versailles, ou la figure du roi* (Paris, 1999).

[3] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Enquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, 1989 [1962]), pp. 5–12 on 'representative public-ness' (*räpresentative Öffentlichkeit*) and court society. See the comments in T.C.W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe, 1660–1789* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 5–14 and *passim*.

[4] The literature on this theme is now large. On Colbert's patronage of scholars and writers, see Richard Maber, 'Colbert and the Scholars: Ménage, Huet and the Royal Pensions of 1663', *Seventeenth-Century French Studies*, 7 (1985): 106–14; Georges Couton, 'Effort publicitaire et organisation de la recherche: les gratifications aux gens de lettres sous Louis XIV', in [anon, ed.] *Le XVIIe siècle et la recherche* (Marseille, 1977), pp. 41–55; for science, Mario Biagioli, 'Le prince et les savants: la civilité scientifique au XVIIe siècle', *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 50 (1995): 1417–53. More generally, see Alain Viala, *Naissance de l'écrivain: sociologie de la littérature à l'âge classique* (Paris, 1985); Hélène Merlin, *L'excentricité académique: littérature, institution, société* (Paris, 2001); Sebastian Neumeister and Conrad Wiedemann (eds), *Res Publica Litteraria: die Institutionen der Gelehrsamkeit in der frühen Neuzeit* (2 vols, Wiesbaden, 1987), and Klaus Garber and

scheme of one of the *grands appartements* – the ceiling paintings for the *salon de Mercure* – to explore how the king's iconographic programme represented his relationship to science and knowledge in a period when that relationship was being transformed. The king's intellectual patronage is represented through reference to classical types, which, by invoking stories of royal travel and imperial conquest, create a geographic (or spatialized) imaginary framework for 'royal' science. In this iconographic system, royal sponsorship of learning is connected with ancient imperial authority, and – in the case of the *salon de Mercure*, at least – the chosen *exempla* of imperial wisdom are scenes of exoticism and colonial rule.

II

The decorative scheme of the ceilings was set out by Le Brun, who borrowed from his former teacher Pietro da Cortona's design for the state rooms of the Pitti Palace in Florence.[5] The French king's iconography was shot through with emulation of other princes, especially the Médicis. Le Brun designed the ceiling paintings for the whole suite of state rooms with the help of the king's committee on matters of cultural propaganda, the '*petite académie*'. The work in each room was carried out by a series of artists working under Le Brun's supervision, under the auspices of the Académie de peinture et de sculpture. Each room in the series was designed to allegorize the attributes of kingship by reference to the eponymous classical figure depicted in the central panel of the ceiling, in a celestial scene. The side panels on the curved edges of the ceiling celebrated the great deeds of ancient monarchs. The ceilings therefore combine 'fable' (in the central panel) and 'history' (the side panels). The corners of the room were given decorative stucco sculptures personifying relevant virtues.

The ceiling paintings, because of their specific and fixed locations within the palace, form a series within a larger ensemble, which constitutes a discursive programme – indeed what Gérard Sabatier calls 'the highest form of figurative state discourse' in the period. Originally the entire programme of images was to be

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Heinz Wismann (eds), *Europäische Sozietätsbewegung und demokratische Tradition: die europäischen Akademien der frühen Neuzeit zwischen Frührenaissance und Spätaufklärung* (2 vols, Tübingen, 1996).

[5] On the décor of the *appartements*, see Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500–1700* (4th edn, Harmondsworth, 1982), pp. 335–8; Sabatier, *Versailles*, pp. 100–145; Sabatier, 'Beneath the Ceilings of Versailles: Towards an Archaeology and Anthropology of the Use of the King's "Signs" during the Absolute Monarchy', in Allan Ellenius (ed.), *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 217–44; Edouard Pommier, 'Versailles: the Image of the Sovereign', in Pierre Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past* (3 vols, New York, 1996–1998), vol. 3, pp. 293–324; and Xavier Salmon, 'Royal Propaganda: the Paintings in the King's State Apartment', in Claire Constans and Xavier Salmon (eds), *Splendors of Versailles* (Jackson, 1998), pp. 31–7.

drawn from fable and ancient history, but the decision was made in 1679 to have the ceiling paintings in the Hall of Mirrors celebrate the great deeds of Louis's reign.[6] The implied connections between the ancient, mythological and modern series became more apparent as the viewer passed from one area of the palace to another. At the same time, Paul Duro has underlined how the ceiling paintings, by combining various media and techniques, mark a boundary between the type of artistic work that the Académie de peinture was trying to defend – in which painting was held to a 'savant' ideal informed by humanist learning and geometrized optics – and the 'mere' decorative craftsmanship of the guilds (*maîtrises*). So the side-panel paintings in the *appartements*, with their scenes from ancient history, were certainly examples of the academicians' rhetorical conception of painting.[7]

That the paintings on the palace ceilings were designed to be 'read' is evidenced by the various guidebooks published in the period, which conveniently identified the figures from history and fable for visitors – whether real or 'armchair' travellers, since such books made possible imaginary tours. In the most famous of the guidebooks, those of the Félibiens, father and son, we find a seemingly complete 'key' to the ceiling paintings of the *grands appartements*. Visitors could read, for example, that in the room of Diana the king is represented typologically as hunter and colonist, with depictions of Jason and the Argonauts, Alexander hunting a lion, Cyrus hunting a boar and Julius Caesar sending a Roman colony to Carthage. In the *salon de Venus*, visitors could see the great deeds of kings stimulated by love: Augustus presiding over the circus games, Nebuchadnezzar and Semiramis building the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, Alexander marrying Roxanna and Cyrus arming himself to save a princess. The same approach is used in the other rooms.[8] In the *salon de Mercure*, the ceiling paintings are allegories on Mercury (Hermes) in his capacity as patron of the arts and sciences. These

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[6] Sabatier, 'Beneath the Ceilings of Versailles', p. 217; Peter Burke, 'The Demise of Royal Mythologies', in Ellenius, *Iconography*, pp. 245–54, at 253.

[7] Paul Duro, *The Academy and the Limits of Painting in Seventeenth-Century France* (Cambridge and New York, 1997), pp. 187–208. On the Academy of Painting, see Antoine Schnapper, *Le Métier de Peintre au Grand Siècle* (Paris, 2004). On Champaigne, see Bernard Dorival, *Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne: la vie, l'homme et l'art* (Paris, 1992), esp. pp. 45–7.

[8] Jean-François Félibien des Avaux, *Description sommaire de Versailles ancienne et nouvelle* (Paris, 1703); on the *salon* of Mercury, pp. 137–41. The other scenes identified by Félibien, are as follows: for the *salon* of Apollo: Coriolanus raising the seat of Rome, Porus being brought before Alexander, Vespasian ordering the Coliseum to be built and Augustus building the Port of Misina; in the *salon* of Mars six paintings: Caesar inspecting his troops, Cyrus addressing his troops, Demitrius storming a city, the Triumph of Constantine, Alexander Severus demoting an Officer and Mark Antony as Albinus Consul. Jean-François based his guide on the work of his father, André Félibien; cf. André Félibien, *Description sommaire du chasteau de Versailles* (Paris, 1674). On Félibien, see Sabatier, *Versailles*, pp. 466–73, and Stefan Germer, *Kunst, Macht, Diskurs: die intellektuelle Karriere des André Félibien im Frankreich von Louis XIV* (Munich, 1997), esp. pp. 243–55.

paintings were by Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne (1631–1684, nephew of the more famous Philippe), working under Le Brun's supervision. The scheme of ceiling paintings in the *salon de Mercure* is worth dwelling on, not only as an example of the iconography of Louis's patronage of letters and science, but also because it reveals aspects of how the relation between image and text worked in the iconographic schema as a whole. The images are *topoi*, rhetorical commonplaces for the praise of the king that had been appropriated and reappropriated within a long tradition.[9] However, in attempting to 'read' the *salon de Mercure* we find ourselves confronted with a puzzle: a mismatch between image and text, which highlights the extent to which the images in palace décor were not always legible, despite (or perhaps because of) the existence of the guidebooks. There was often some slippage between what the visitor might see and what they might read in a guidebook; and the official glosses of the artworks could change over time. Indeed, it can be argued that the relationship between images and words at Versailles was often quite deliberately, albeit playfully, enigmatic. In the very period when, as Peter Burke points out, the old analogical mode of representation was in crisis, the decoding of iconographic riddles was becoming a courtly parlour game.[10]

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[9] On these issues, see Burke, *Fabrication*; Norman Bryson, *Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge, 1981); Duro, *The Academy*; Amy M. Schmitter, 'Representation and the Body of Power in French Academic Painting', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 63 (2002): 399–424. On Le Brun's work, see also Donald Posner, 'Charles Le Brun's Triumphs of Alexandre', *Art Bulletin*, 40 (1959): 237–48; R. Hartle, 'Lebrun's *Histoire d'Alexandre* and Racine's *Alexandre le Grand*', *Romantic Review*, 48 (1957): 90–103; Jennifer Montagu, 'The Early Ceiling Decorations of Charles Le Brun', *Burlington Magazine*, 105 (1963): 395–408. See also Randolph Starn, 'Seeing Culture in a Room for a Renaissance Prince', in Lynn Hunt (ed.), *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 205–32.

[10] On the crisis, see Burke, 'The Demise', *passim*, and *Fabrication*, pp. 125–34; cf. Sabatier, *Versailles*, pp. 536–82. For slippages, see Sabatier, 'Beneath the Ceilings', pp. 224 and 228. On the 'enigma' as a generic convention, see Jennifer Montagu, 'The Painted Enigma and French Seventeenth-Century Art', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 31 (1968): 307–35; for its possible use at Versailles, Betsy Rosasco, 'Masquerade and Enigma at the Court of Louis XIV', *Art Journal*, 48/2 (1989): 144–9 (my thanks to Malcolm Baker for these references). None of the ceiling paintings in Versailles are, strictly speaking, 'enigma paintings'; but the familiarity of such a genre at the court highlights the range of interpretive strategies available to contemporaries. The abbé J.-B. Dubos could complain, by 1719, that the paintings in Versailles were often too enigmatic: 'Les tableaux ne doivent pas être des énigmes ... On voit dans la galerie de Versailles beaucoup de morceaux de Peinture dont le sens, enveloppé trop mysterieusement, échappe à la pénétration des plus subtils'; Dubos, *Réflexions critiques sur la poësie et sur la peinture* [Paris, 1719], 1740 edn., cited in Sabatier, *Versailles*, pp. 548–9.

III

Looking up at the ceiling of the *salon de Mercure*, the visitor would see a larger central panel supported by four side panels, on the north, south, east and west sides of the ceiling, between which were smaller corner carvings (*écoinçons*): a total of nine images. Although other paintings were hung on the walls of the room, they did not form part of the Le Brun scheme, and they were frequently changed or removed.[11] In the central ceiling panel was Mercury in his chariot drawn by roosters, surrounded by figures representing the arts and sciences. The corner pieces (*écoinçons*) are identified by Félibien as representing bodily skill (*l'Adresse du Corps*); knowledge of the fine arts (*la Connoissance des Beaux-Arts*); justice (*la Justice*); and royal authority (*l'Autorité royale*), each supported, again, by figures representing the various arts and sciences.[12] The four side panels, with their paintings from ancient history, were arranged as follows:

- On the north side of the room, above the window looking out onto the gardens: Alexander the Great presenting exotic animals to Aristotle for his *Natural History*.
- On the west side of the room (as Félibien terms it, the side facing the East, 'la face *vers l'Orient*'): the Emperor Augustus receiving ambassadors from the Indies, who bring as their tribute exotic beasts.
- On the south side of the room, above the royal bed: Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt, conversing with scholars in the library of Alexandria, with some pyramids in the background.
- On the eastern wall: Alexander the Great receiving a deputation of Indian philosophers.

At first glance it would seem that the interpretation of these paintings should be straightforward. Within the rhetorical conventions of royal magnificence, the king's glory was reflected in his patronage of the sciences, and the reach of his

[11] Félibien identifies the paintings hanging on the walls of the *salon de Mercure* as Leandro Bassano's *Wedding at Cana* and three works by Titian: the road to Emmaus scene, a Madonna, and Christ being laid in the tomb. In the alcove in the *salon de Mercure* there hung Annibale Carracci's *Martyrdom and Assumption of St Sebastian* and, until 1717 (when the bed was removed during the winter), an Andromeda by Titian. During the summer, the paintings were stored to make way for ten embroidered caryatids and two paintings by Raphael: *Saint Michael* and *The Holy Family*. Above the door were paintings by Van Dyck and Rubens. In the guidebooks of the eighteenth century, more attention is given to these paintings than to those on the ceilings: Jean-Aimar Piganiol de la Force, *Nouvelle description des Chateaux et Parcs de Versailles et de Marly* (9th edn, 2 vols, Paris, 1764), vol. 1, pp. 151–62.

[12] It should be noted that the identification of the subjects depicted in these *écoinçons* varies greatly in different sources; I follow Sabatier, *Versailles*, pp. 129–32.

power and reputation was reflected in diplomatic gifts and ambitious collecting enterprises. Collecting exotic animals and gathering universal libraries were especially good ways of demonstrating royal magnificence. In the tradition of emulation, early modern monarchs – or their image-makers – were constantly invoking classical precedents. Paula Findlen, for example, has shown how common it was in seventeenth-century Italy for natural historians to approach their patrons by casting themselves, somewhat immodestly, as so many Aristotles in search of Alexanders.[13]

Alexander the Great was an oft-invoked 'type' in the representation of Louis, especially during the king's youth. The cult of Louis appropriated various elements of standard themes in the kingship discourse of ancient and medieval Europe, and adapted them to suit the king. One of these was the notion of global reputation, where news of the king's virtues reaches far-off countries and inspires embassies, tribute and exotic gifts.[14] The two scenes depicting exotic animals (Alexander and Aristotle, and Augustus receiving Eastern ambassadors) resonated with real events at the French court. In the gardens of Versailles there was a menagerie, for which royal agents collected exotic animals from the Mediterranean and sometimes from further afield. These animals, once dead, were dissected by members of the Académie des sciences, and their results were being published at the very time the *appartements* were being painted. The Augustus image is a variation on the theme, which alludes to the occasions when Louis received exotic animals as diplomatic gifts: the king of Portugal sent a young African elephant in 1668, which also ended up being anatomized by the academicians when it died in 1681. This gift was an echo of earlier gifts of pachyderms from Portuguese monarchs to Pope Leo X, which themselves echoed the elephant given to Charlemagne by the caliph Harun al-Rashid. Later, in the 1680s, the Siamese ambassadors brought Louis three crocodiles, while beavers and caribou were sent to the king by merchants and missionaries in Canada. Despite their utility for the Academy of Sciences, the primary function of the royal menageries, both at Versailles and Vincennes, was to display the king's power to visitors, be they visiting ambassadors, courtiers or paying guests. At Vincennes, a tiger was made to fight an elephant for the entertainment of a Persian ambassador. The elephant won.[15]

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[13] Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1994), pp. 352–65.

[14] The context for such ideas is set out in Alexandre Y. Haran, *Le Lys et le Globe: messianisme dynastique et rêve impérial en France aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Seyssel, 2000); Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500–c. 1800* (New Haven, 1995).

[15] On the menagerie of Versailles, see Gustave Loisel, *Histoire des ménageries de l'antiquité à nos jours* (3 vols, Paris, 1912); Gérard Mabille, 'La ménagerie de Versailles', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 116/1260 (1974): 5–36; Masumi Iriye, 'Le Vau's Menagerie and the Rise of the Animalier: Enclosing, Dissecting and Representing the Animal in Early-Modern France', PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1994; Anita Guerrini, 'The

Facing the image of Aristotle and the animals was that of the library of Alexandria. The royal library, like the menagerie, was an expression of the king's magnificence and 'reach'. The figure of Ptolemy II at the library of Alexandria was a familiar reference point, which associated the idealized universal library of the ancient world with royal wisdom.[16] Again, the image resonated with specific projects sponsored by the king. Alexandria could be thought of as a site of translation, particularly the translation of the Bible. At the time the *salon de Mercure* was decorated, bishop Bossuet was living at court (at Saint-Germain-en-Laye) and holding meetings of biblical scholars, including the converted Jewish scholars Louis de Compiègne de Veil and his brother Charles-Marie, in order to produce rebuttals of both Protestant controversialists and of 'libertine' attacks on the authority of the divine books. The meetings of Bossuet's '*petit concile*' helped him prepare material for his *Politics Drawn from the Very Words of Holy Scripture*, the nearest thing to an 'official' political doctrine of the reign.[17] But Alexandria was primarily, of course, a universal repository of texts. Under Louis XIV, the king's 'public library' – the Bibliothèque du roi in Paris – had reached a new level of collecting activity, with scholars sent out by Colbert to tour the book markets of the Levant in search of antiquities and manuscripts, not only in Greek and Hebrew, but also in Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Colbert himself sponsored meetings of orientalist scholars at his own library, next door.[18] The fact that Champaigne depicts the *savants* of Alexandria discussing a celestial globe, though, is a reminder that the library is also the home of the natural sciences. The Académie des sciences

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"virtual menagerie": the *Histoire des animaux* project', *Configurations*, 14/1 (2006): 29–41. Claude Perrault, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire naturelle des animaux* (Paris, 1676) is the 'standard' edition of the Académie des Sciences's zoological dissections, which incorporated articles already published: a first edition (same title, Paris, 1671) with a much smaller selection of animals; an earlier selection appeared as *Description anatomique d'un cameleon, d'un castor, d'un dromadaire, d'un ours, et d'une gazelle* (Paris, 1669); and earlier still, a 'grand poisson' and a lion: *Extrait d'une lettre écrite à Monsieur de La Chambre* ... (Paris, 1667).

[16] Another sculpted allusion to Alexandria from the period can be seen on the east facade of the Wren Library at Trinity College, Cambridge.

[17] René-Marie de La Broise, *Bossuet et la Bible: étude d'après les documents originaux* (Paris, 1891 [Geneva, 1971]), pp. xxxi–xlvii; Pierre Amable Floquet, *Bossuet, précepteur du Dauphin, fils de Louis XIV, et évêque à la cour (1670–1682)* (Paris, 1864), pp. 420–51. Charles-Marie de Veil and Louis de Compiègne were sons of a Metz rabbi who converted, becoming priests and Doctors of Theology under Bossuet's patronage, before later moving to England and becoming Protestants. Louis later published several translations of Moses Maimonides.

[18] On the Bibliothèque du roi in this period, see Simone Balayé, *La Bibliothèque nationale des origines à 1800* (Geneva, 1988), pp. 84–99; on exotic collecting, see Henri Auguste Omont, ed., *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (2 vols, Paris, 1902); and Nicholas Dew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France* (Oxford, 2009).

still held its meetings at the Bibliothèque du roi. Like the menagerie of Versailles, the royal library was considered one of the king's public works, to be celebrated in engraved almanacs and stand-alone prints, singly and in groups. For example, the Bibliothèque du roi is celebrated alongside the Observatoire, the new façade for the Louvre and the Invalides in an engraved royal almanac for 1676, entitled the 'Alliance of Mars and Minerva'.[19] Both the menagerie and the library were conceived of as being potentially global collections – their range, the very diversity of provenance in their collections, was what demonstrated the king's glory.

IV

The fourth panel painting, with its vaguely Indian figures prostrating themselves before Alexander the Great, seems somewhat out of place in this series. Here, there is no obvious allusion to any of Louis XIV's projects. Some ambassadors from afar had already come to Louis's court; but they were not from India and they were not philosophers. A celebrated foreign visitor had arrived at the French court just as the *salon de Mercure* was being designed. An Ottoman envoy, Suleiman Aga, arrived in 1669 in Toulon, came to Paris, where his visit was reported in the *Gazette*, and became the inspiration for the famous 'Turkish scene' in Molière and Lully's comedy-ballet, *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* (1670).[20] (Other famous exotic ambassadors to visit Louis, from Siam and from Persia, were to come later, in 1684–1686 and 1715 respectively.) It is perhaps conceivable that ancient 'types' were needed to celebrate the Ottoman visitor, and two images were chosen to invoke the tribute paid by Eastern rulers to ancient emperors (Alexander, the Caesars and, continuing the tradition, Charlemagne), with Alexander and his Indians forming a pair with the opposite painting of Augustus. But this still leaves open a number of questions regarding the subject of the painting and how it was to be interpreted.

It is here that reading contemporary guidebooks to Versailles throws up the sharpest contrast with the images painted by Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne for the *salon de Mercure*. The scene is variously described as Alexander receiving

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[19] Henri Noblin, *L'alliance de Mars et de Minerue, ou la gloire des armes, des sciences, et des arts soubs l'heureux Regne de Louis le Grand 14e de ce nom* (Paris, 1676), copy at Bibliothèque nationale de France, Estampes, Qb1 1676, collection Hennin, vol. 55, no. 4882. Several engravings survive of the menagerie.

[20] See Pierre Martino, 'La cérémonie turque du *Bourgeois gentilhomme*', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 18 (1911): 37–60; Clarence Dana Rouillard, 'The Background of the Turkish Ceremony in Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 39 (1969): 33–52; Albert Vandal, 'Molière et le cérémonial turc à la cour de Louis XIV', *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, 2 (1888): 367–85; Miriam K. Whaples, 'Early Exoticism Revisited', in Jonathan Bellman (ed.), *The Exotic in Western Music* (Boston, 1998), pp. 3–25.

an Indian delegation, possibly of philosophers and possibly hearing the news that the Indian philosopher named Calanus has killed himself (Figure 12.1).[21] Félibien describes the scene as follows:

> Le tableau oposé [*sic*] exprime une Ambassade d'Indiens, & à leur tête Calanus qu'Alexandre le Grand retint auprés de luy. Le Peintre par une licence particuliére à représenté dans le lointain le même Calanus sur un bucher, parce qu'en effet ce Philosophe Indien prit la résolution de se brûler tout vivant, quand il crut être prêt d'arriver par son grand âge à la fin de sa vie.
>
> Le premier sujet sert à marquer l'éloquence, l'autre la constance & le mépris de la vie; mais tous deux ensemble offrent une idée des nations qu'on a vû venir des extrémitez de la terre pour rendre hommage à la grandeur & aux vertus du Roy.[22]

> The opposing painting shows an embassy of Indians, led by Calanus, whom Alexander retained in his service. The painter, with particular licence, has represented in the background the same Calanus on a pyre, because this Indian philosopher resolved to burn himself alive, when he realized that he had reached the end of his long life.
>
> The first subject serves to represent eloquence, the other constancy and the disdain for this life; but both together offer an idea of the nations that have come from the ends of the earth to render homage to the grandeur and virtues of the king.

In the painting, at least as it survives today, this background view of Calanus immolating himself is not visible.[23] This might explain why the painting is sometimes described as showing the Indian emissaries bringing Alexander the

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[21] Seventeenth-century writers continued a long-running discussion on whether the Indian Brahmans could be identified with the philosophers the ancient Greeks called Gymnosophists (literally 'naked sages'). See for example Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique & critique* (Amsterdam, 1740), articles 'Brachmanes' (vol. 1, pp. 651–4) and 'Gymnosophistes' (vol. 2, pp. 550–52).

[22] Félibien, *Description sommaire de Versailles*, p. 138.

[23] Even Dorival fails to note this in his discussion of the work, despite pointing out how unconventional it was for the Académie to allow two distinct episodes to be portrayed in the same painting: *Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne*, pp. 46–7. One possible explanation is that the background was repainted after the 1670s, to remove the image of Calanus's suicide on the grounds of pictorial or perhaps religious propriety. In Piganiol's eighteenth-century guide, the reference to Calanus is still there, but without mention of whether the suicide is in the picture or not: 'c'est le même Alexandre, qui donne audience aux Gymnosophistes ou Philosophes Indiens, qu'il avoit envoyé querir par Onesicrite. Ce fut un d'eux appellé Calanus, âgé de 83 ans, qui ayant accompagné ce Conquerant en Perse, sur quelque ressentiment de colique assez léger se fit dresser un bucher & s'y brûla, disant qu'après avoir perdu la santé, & après avoir vu Alexandre, il ne se soucioit plus de vivre': Piganiol de La Force, *Nouvelle description*, vol. 1, p. 152.

Figure 12.1 Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne (1631–1684), Alexander the Great receiving the news of the death by immolation of the Indian gymnosophist Calanus, c. 1672. Chateau de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles. Inv. 18502228. Photo: Herve Lewandowski. Photo credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY

news of the death of Calanus. Despite the confusion, the guidebooks – and various other catalogues – seem to concur that the painting has something to do with the encounter between Alexander and Calanus. But if this is so, which aspects of the Calanus story were meant, and to what end?

Another guidebook, by 'le Sieur Combes' (attributed to Laurent Morellet), reveals the extent to which decoding the classical allusions might become problematic. By what seems to be a slip of the pen, 'Combes' substitutes Alexander the Great with the Emperor Augustus.

> The Pictures of the sides of the Cieling-piece [*sic*] which have relation to *Mercury* are of subjects of Learning and Eloquence.
>
> That which is over the Windows represents *Alexander the Great* when he caused many kinds of Animals to be brought, to the end that the Philosopher *Aristotle* might discourse of their nature, and make Anatomical Administrations of them.
>
> The second is *Augustus*, who receives an Embassie of *Indians*, where a Philosopher called *Calanus*, after that he had made him his speech, put himself on a Funeral-pile and burnt himself, to shew his constancy, and at the same time honour to this Emperour. Probably this Philosopher, in doing this action, broke an earthen Vessel which could not serve much longer.
>
> The third which is opposite to the Windows, is *Ptolomy* [*sic*] King of *Egypt*, who causes a Library to be built; he is accompanied with Philosophers and other learned persons.[24]

The confusion in the Combes guidebook between Alexander and Augustus is probably simply a copyist's or compositor's error. But it reminds us of the fact that in a typological system of reference this slippage between interchangeable figures was so common as to pass unnoticed.[25]

For readers in seventeenth-century France, the most familiar source on Alexander's life was probably Plutarch, read in Jacques Amyot's oft-reprinted

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[24] Laurent Morellet [pseud. le sieur Combes], *An Historical Explication of What there is most remarkable in that Wonder of the World, the French King's Royal House at Versailles* (London, 1684), pp. 24–5. Although I have not seen the French original, *Explication historique de ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans la maison royale de Versailles et en celle de Monsieur à Saint-Cloud* (Paris, 1681), the slip for Augustus appears to be there; the passage is transcribed in *Le Livret de l'exposition faite en 1673 dans la cour du Palais-Royal*, ed. M Anatole de Montaiglon (Paris, 1852; reprinted 1978), p. 5.

[25] The slip may also be explained by the fact that Plutarch, when he relates the story of Calanus and Alexander, makes a comparison with an episode in which an oriental philosopher killed himself after a meeting with Augustus, in Athens. See Plutarch, *Lives*, vol. 7: *Demosthenes and Cicero, Alexander and Caesar*, trans. Bernadette Perrin, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA, 1919), p. 419.

translation. Calanus comes up twice in Plutarch's life of Alexander.[26] The second occurrence is the death scene that the painting, or rather the contemporary glosses on the painting, refers to. Calanus, Plutarch relates, having entered Alexander's retinue, falls ill and prepares his own suicide, climbing his own funeral pyre in the traditional manner and telling Alexander and his men to celebrate. For Michel de Montaigne, and for Pierre Bayle later, the story of Calanus was a symbol of Stoic constancy and of the disdain for this world.[27] Félibien's guidebook, as we have seen, follows this way of glossing Calanus.

However, the earlier account of Calanus in Plutarch is longer. Alexander, in India, had captured ten Gymnosophist philosophers because they were thought to have stirred up a revolt. He interviewed them, putting riddles to them. Those who answered wrongly would be put to death. The philosophers answered the king's riddles with cunning and as a reward for this they were pardoned and dismissed with gifts. Impressed, Alexander then decided to seek out the most reputed of the Indian philosophers. He sent Onēsíkritos, a follower of Diogenes the Cynic in his retinue, to seek them out and invite them to visit him. Calanus was, at least, persuaded to pay a visit to Alexander. Plutarch goes on:

> It was Calanus, as we are told, who laid before Alexander the famous illustration [παράδειγμα, *paradeigma*] of government. It was this. He threw down upon the ground a dry and shrivelled hide, and set his foot upon the outer edge of it; the hide was pressed down in one place, but rose up in others. He went all around the hide and showed that this was the result wherever he pressed the edge down, and then at last he stood in the middle of it, and lo! it was all held down firm and still. The similitude was designed to show that Alexander ought to put most constraint upon the middle of his empire and not wander far away from it.[28]

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[26] The Calanus passages are in Plutarch, *Alexander and Caesar*, pp. 409–11 and 417–19 (books LXV and LXIX). The Calanus story also appears, in a slightly different version, in Arrian's *Anabasis*, book 7, section 3 (*Arrian with an English translation*, trans. P.A. Brunt, Loeb Classical Library (2 vols, Cambridge, 1983), vol. 2, pp. 206–11). On ancient views of the brahmans, see Richard Stoneman, 'Who are the Brahmans? Indian Lore and Cynic Doctrine in Palladius' *De Bragmanibus* and its Models', *Classical Quarterly*, new series, 44 (1994): 500–10; and Stoneman, 'Naked Philosophers: the Brahmans in the Alexander Historians and the Alexander Romance', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 115 (1995): 99–114.

[27] Michel de Montaigne, *Essays*, trans. M.A. Screech (Harmondsworth, 1991), book II, ch. 29 ('On virtue'), pp. 799–806, at p. 803, where the reference comes after a discussion of Indian *sati*; cf. Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (5th edn, Amsterdam, 1740), vol. 2, p. 552 (article 'Gymnosophistes').

[28] Plutarch, *Alexander and Caesar*, trans. Perrin, p. 409. Cf. the abbé Tallement's version, made for the Dauphin in 1671, exactly contemporary with these paintings: 'Et l'on dit qu'en sa presence ce Philosophe prit un cuir sec, & que marchant tantost sur l'un de ses bouts, tantost sur l'autre, il le faisoit tousiours lever, jusques à ce qu'il eut mis le pied dans le milieu. C'était pour representer à Alexandre qu'il falloit qu'il s'arrestast au milieu de

The meeting of Alexander and Calanus is not one episode, but two – and a reference to one, arguably, carries connotations of the other. The encounter between the king and the philosopher echoes a long tradition of such encounters, in which a philosopher 'speaks truth to power' by offering prophetic warnings, admonishment or other-worldly wisdom, exercising his right to do so from his privileged place as a sage (one which might be compared with the role of a court fool). Another better-known episode from the life of Alexander (also in Plutarch) – his meeting with Diogenes the Cynic – functions in a similar way. The philosopher, when visited by the great king, merely asks him to stop blocking his sunlight. The philosopher proves his moral worth by his indifference to the glory of the king; the king, impressed, repays the compliment by saying that if he were not who he was, he should want to be Diogenes. Such stories had obvious resonance in the seventeenth-century discourse on the court. Alexander's meeting with Diogenes was the subject of a large bas-relief made by the Provençal sculptor Pierre Puget in the mid-1680s. Rather than articulating anything that might resemble an explicit critique of royal power, images such as Puget's can be seen as staging a more traditional, carnivalesque mode of philosophical speech, the limits of which were probably well understood. We can safely assume that nobody followed the examples of Calanus or Diogenes at Versailles.[29]

V

The fourth of Champaigne's ceiling paintings for the *salon de Mercure* presents us, therefore, with a puzzle. It is as if the subject of the painting was supposed to be 'Alexander and the gymnosophists', itself an unusual choice; and yet such a scene opens up an unstable range of textual reference points. The painting (at least as we see it today) seems only to show oriental figures paying tribute to Alexander. The clothing and headgear recall the iconography of the Biblical 'orient' rather than the nakedness of the gymnosophists, while the postures recall other images of homage, such as those in Le Brun's famous *Family of Darius at the Feet of Alexander* (c. 1660).[30] And yet the contemporary guidebooks are very clear that it depicts the story of Alexander and Calanus. Calanus was both a symbol of Stoic fortitude and contempt for the things of this world (referred to by Montaigne and by Bayle), but was also the proponent of a parable on government. The lesson for

son Empire, & qu'il ne s'en escartast gueres loin'; Plutarch, *Les Vies des hommes illustres de Plutarque ... nouvellement traduite de Grec en François*, trans. François Tallemant (7 vols, Paris, 1671–1672), vol. 5, pp. 130–31. Tallemant claims to be making a new, courtlier version of Plutarch, as distinct from the older style of Amyaut.

[29] Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, section 14, op. cit. (trans. Perrin), pp. 258–61. On Puget, see the discussion by Klaus Herding in [anon, ed.] *Pierre Puget: peintre, sculpteur, architecte, 1620–1694* (Marseille, 1994), pp. 95–7.

[30] The similarity is pointed out in Dorival, *Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne*, pp. 45–7.

Alexander, presumably, was that ruling his empire from the centre was safer than going on long expeditions (which was true, as Alexander was to discover). If the guidebooks were at all respected, then a series of connected stories from the lives of Alexander could be read into the painting, without any of them being clearly identifiable with the content of the painting itself. The stories of Alexander and Calanus sound a dissonant note in the series of other ceiling paintings in the *salon de Mercure*: the other three represent royal patronage of libraries, menageries, natural curiosity and the geographic reach of royal fame, while the story of Alexander and Calanus seems less an account of royal interest in philosophy and more a reminder of the complex messages that emerge when encounters between kings and sages occur.

The case of the fourth painting from the *salon de Mercure* reveals some of the complexities of the relationship between image and text in the state rooms of Versailles. At the same time, though, the four 'Mercury' paintings, taken as a group, highlight the fact that within the iconographic discourse, the king's patronage of the sciences was intimately connected to his fame and his geographical reach. In the reign of Louis XIV, France's commercial and diplomatic range was extending, as colonial commerce brought the world to Paris. These commercial networks allowed the missionary orders and the envoys of the Academy of Sciences to extend the reach of French scientific knowledge. As the late seventeenth century's globalization was changing the relationship of France to the world, the old allegorical signs of court iconography were acquiring new referents.

Chapter 13

Elegant Dutch? The Reception of Castiglione's *Cortegiano* in Seventeenth-Century Netherlands

Herman Roodenburg

Today, few of us would regard the art of Rembrandt (1606–1669) as a paragon of elegance and stylishness. Four centuries after his birth we value the painter's realism, his 'frankness' and 'earthiness', while the aesthetic objections of a later generation of painters make us smile. Jan de Bisschop, for example, abhorred Rembrandt's female nudes. Even when representing a Leda or a Danae, Rembrandt and the painters working in his style portrayed 'a naked woman with a fat, swollen stomach, pendulous breasts, garter marks on her legs, and many more such deformities' (Figure 13.1).[1] As the playwright Andries Pels bemoaned, these were the shapeless bodies of contemporary washerwomen and not the perfect and timeless ones of classical antiquity.[2] He was right, of course; but unlike him or, much later the art historian Sir Kenneth Clark, 'the last of the gentlemen aesthetes', we hardly care.[3] We prefer Rembrandt's proletarian flesh above the stylish and all too perfect bodies of the later seventeenth century.

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[1] [Joh. Episcopius], *Paradigmata graphices variorum artificum: voor-beelden der teken-konst van verscheyde meesters* (The Hague, 1671); quoted from *Jan de Bisschop and his Icones & Paradigmata: Classical Antiquities and Italian Drawings for Artistic Instruction in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, ed. J.G. van Gelder (2 vols, Doornspijk, 1985), vol. 2, p. 4: 'selfs als een Leda of Danaë souden werden uytgebeeld (soo veer ging de ghewoonte) wiert gemaeckt een vrouwe-naeckt met een dicken en gheswollen buyck, hangende borsten, kneepen van kousebanden in de beenen, en veel meer sulcke wanschapenheyt.' Bisschop did not mention Rembrandt explicitly but art historians agree that the message was clear. For a fine discussion of Rembrandt's nudes, see Eric Jan Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude* (Amsterdam, 2006).

[2] Andries Pels, *Gebruik én misbruik des tooneels* (Amsterdam, 1681), p. 77: 'Als hy een' naakte vrouw, gelyk 't somtyds gebeurde/ Zou schild'ren, tót modél geen Grieksche Vénus keurde;/ Maar eer een' waschter, óf turftreedster uit een' schuur,/ Zyn' dwaaling noemende navólging van Natuur,/ Al 't ander ydele verziering. Slappe borsten,/ Verwrongen' handen, ja de neepen van de worsten/ Des ryglyfs in de buik, des kousebands om 't been,/ 't Moest al gevólgd zyn, óf natuur was niet te vréên.'

[3] For Clark's objections, see his *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1966), p. 11; 'last of the gentlemen aesthetes', see Robert Hughes's obituary of Clark in

Yet there is another, more elegant Rembrandt as well: the Rembrandt who, for instance, copied Raphael's portrait of Baldassare Castiglione when it was auctioned in Amsterdam in 1639; or the Rembrandt who eight years later limned the likeness of a keen admirer of Castiglione, the Amsterdam burgomaster Jan Six (1618–1700), first in a fine etching dated around 1647 (Figure 13.2) and then in a superb painting dated 1654 (Figure 13.3). The etching especially catches the eye

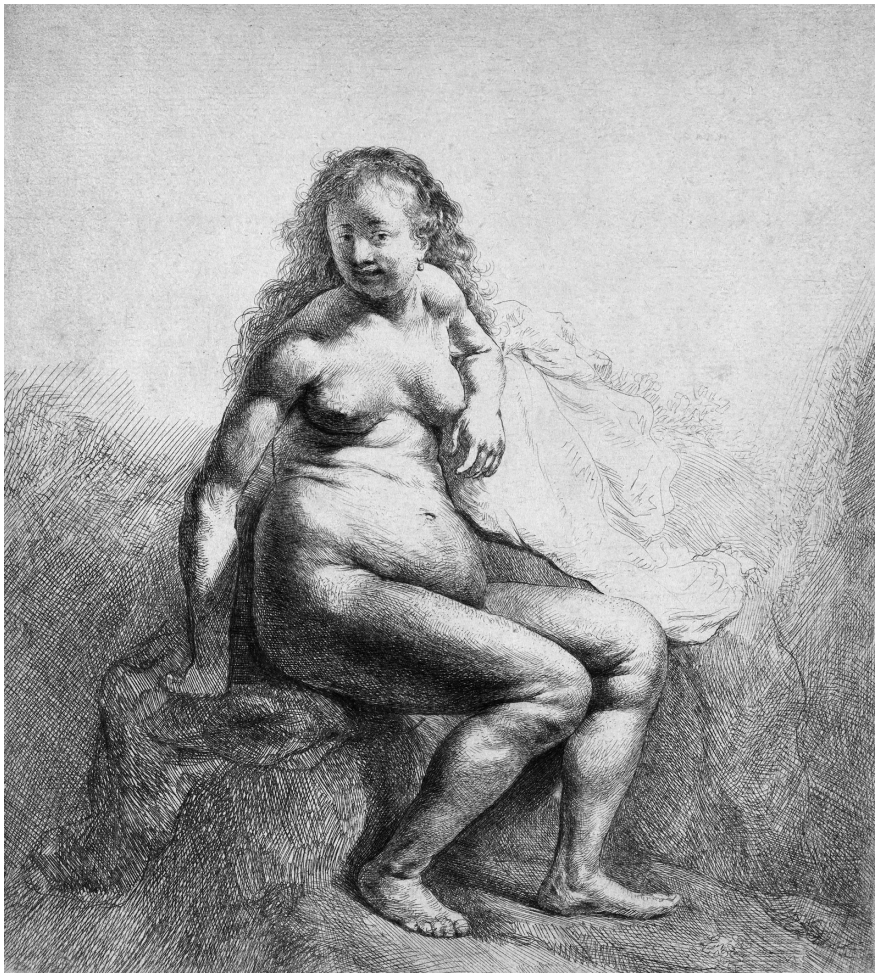

Figure 13.1 Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn, *Naked woman seated on a mound*, etching c. 1631. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

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Time Magazine, 6 June 1983.

– this serene moment of absorption in which we see the 30-year-old Six reclining gracefully against a windowsill, reading by sunlight.[4]

Figure 13.2 Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn, *Portrait of Jan Six*, etching c. 1647. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

[4] Cf. Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley, 1980), p. 43.

As has been noted, though seemingly careless, Six's pose was a model of contemporary refinement.[5] Indeed, it was precisely this negligence – this *sprezzatura*, combined with the ballet-like positioning of the feet – which made his bearing so stylish and elegant. The objects depicted confirm the man's sophistication. In his etching, probably the upshot of several discussions with the sitter, Rembrandt included a painting, a book and a bundle of manuscripts, along with a rapier and a bandolier. In my view, the painting, book, manuscripts and, of course, Jan Six himself (engrossed in another book) all evidence his love of art and scholarship. In addition, his stylish bearing and his rapier and bandolier denote his exclusive education, the physical training he had received from early childhood, designed to fortify the body and incorporate the physical grace and elegance expected of gentlemen. Dancing, fencing and horse-riding were the main exercises for inculcating such refinement.[6] It is true that objects referring to equestrian pursuits seem to be missing from the etching, but there is also the later painting, presenting us with a slightly older Jan Six. There he is dressed in an ochre doublet, scarlet cloak and long grey riding coat. This Dutchman, then, though not an aristocrat, was a paragon of elegance, of contemporary civility. He was a true *honnête homme*.[7]

The little we know about Jan Six all supports this view. The third son of a wealthy French refugee, he studied at the University of Leiden and made a Grand Tour of Italy in 1641 and 1642. Noted for his love of scholarship, he was also a poet and playwright, and an avid collector of paintings and drawings. He

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[5] Eddy de Jongh, 'Review of B. Haak, Hollandse schilders in de Gouden Eeuw', *Simiolus*, 15 (1985): 65–86; Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (Amsterdam, 2006), pp. 95–8.

[6] See Herman Roodenburg, *The Eloquence of the Body: Studies on Gesture in the Dutch Republic* (Zwolle, 2004), pp. 77–112.

[7] The seventeenth-century Dutch used a variety of terms for what I summarize here as 'civility'. For example, they spoke of *heusheid, beleefdheid, burgerlijkheid, eerlijkheid, wellevendheid* or *welgemanierdheid*. Though etymologically related, *heusheid* should not be confused with *hoofsheid* ('courtesy'), which acquired a negative connotation in the early seventeenth century. For the sake of convenience I have followed Anna Bryson's distinction between 'courtesy' and 'civility', using the first as an umbrella concept referring largely to the sixteenth century, and the second as a similar concept referring largely to the seventeenth century and later. See Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1998). For an overview of Dutch terms, mostly drawn from literary sources, see E.K. Grootes, 'Heusheid en beleefdheid in de zeventiende eeuw', in Pim den Boer (ed.), *Beschaving. Een geschiedenis van de begrippen hoofsheid, heusheid, beschaving en cultuur* (Amsterdam, 2001), pp. 131–48. See also Pieter Spierenburg, *Elites and Etiquette: Mentality and Social Structure in the Early Modern Netherlands* (Rotterdam, 1981); Herman Roodenburg, 'The "Hand of Friendship": Shaking Hands and Other Gestures in the Dutch Republic', in Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (eds), *A Cultural History of Gesture from Antiquity to the Present Day* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 152–89; for the contemporary notion of *honnêteté*, see below, p. 271.

Figure 13.3 Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn, *Portrait of Jan Six*, 1654, oil on canvas. Six Collection Amsterdam

associated with both Rembrandt and de Bisschop, who dedicated his *Paradigmata* – a series of etchings after famous paintings and drawings – to him (and in that very dedication condemned Rembrandt's nudes).[8] In addition to occupying a large house on Amsterdam's Herengracht, Six also owned a country retreat near the village of Hillegom, where he kept a string of horses. He acquired the estate in 1651, which explains the riding outfit in the painting of 1654.[9]

This Dutch commoner was particularly passionate about Castiglione's *Il libro del Cortegiano*, published in 1528. When the book was finally translated into Dutch in 1662, it was dedicated to him.[10] According to the publisher, Six had repeatedly voiced his great regard for Castiglione, which is also reflected in the four editions of the *Cortegiano* found in his library. Six owned three Italian editions, all dating from the middle of the sixteenth century, and a French translation, probably the one by Jacques Colin, also from the sixteenth century. Other manuals of civility in his library included a French translation of Giovanni della Casa's *Il Galateo*; three copies of Stefano Guazzo's *Civil conversatione*, as well as copies of Eustache de Refuge's *Traité de la cour*; Baltasar Gracián's *Oraculo manual y arte de prudencia* (and its 1685 French translation, *L'Homme de cour*); two copies of the same author's *El Heroe*; and copies of Antoine de Courtin's *Nouveau traité de la civilité* and his *Civilité françoise*.[11] His library also boasted Honoré d'Urfé's *L'Astrée*, a veritable guide to polite manners, offering in its hero Hylas a perfect model of the *honnête homme*, and François de la Noue's *Discours politiques et militaires*. In this late sixteenth-century programme for the education of nobles – along the lines of Castiglione's *Cortegiano* – instruction in mathematics and the art of war was combined with physical exercises intended to develop an elegant and upright bearing, a bodily *habitus* as defined by Pierre Bourdieu or Paul Connerton.[12]

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[8] The paintings and antiquities were in the highly prestigious collection of the brothers Jan and Gerard Reynst in Amsterdam.

[9] I.H. van Eeghen, 'Anna Wijmer en Jan Six', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*, 76 (1984): 38–101.

[10] Baldassare de Castiglione, *De volmaeckte hovelinck* (Amsterdam, 1662); a second edition came out in 1675.

[11] *Catalogus instructissimae bibliothecae, nobilissimi et amplissimi Domini Do. Joannis Six* (Amsterdam, 1706); cf. George J. Möller, 'Het album Pandora van Jan Six (1618–1700)', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*,76 (1084): 69–101.

[12] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Cambridge, 1980); Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, 1989); cf. Roodenburg, *Eloquence*, pp. 19–23; Herman Roodenburg, 'Pierre Bourdieu: Issues of Embodiment and Authenticity', *Etnofoor*, 17 (1/2): 215–26.

Burghers at Heart?

Six was far from exceptional in his devotion to *honnêteté*, that variant of civility which encouraged a gentleman to dabble in the arts and sciences of the day, treating such wide-ranging interests as a prerequisite in the art of pleasing and in the contemporary art of conversation. Like Castiglione's courtier, he was to be more than 'passably learned' in all the arts and sciences, without mastering any of them professionally. So discarding academic pedantry, the *honnête homme* preferred the role of *liefhebber*, as it was called in Dutch, of the disinterested amateur. As the poet and courtier Constantijn Huygens wrote in 1636, 'I am not really a scholar but take an interest in all sciences.'[13] *Honnêtes femmes* were also to eschew all pedantry. The most esteemed woman in the seventeenth-century Republic was Anna Maria van Schurman. Proficient in the arts, music and literature, she also commanded a host of languages, including Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Even Descartes lauded her many interests: 'she had an excellent mind for poetry, painting and other niceties of that nature'. But when – encouraged by the Calvinist theologian Gisbertus Voetius – she turned to 'theological controversies'; she forfeited 'the conversation of *honnêtes gens*'.[14]

Many libraries resembling Six's could be found among the seventeenth-century elite, although until recently few historians have taken much interest in them. Leafing through the principal studies on the period, one might think that good manners were largely wasted on the Dutch – no civility for them. As Johan Huizinga argued in his celebrated essay of 1941, the Dutch were essentially solid bourgeois. Hard-working capitalists, they were far too common-sensical, far too honest and too frank, to be interested in the finer points of civility. Though Huizinga acknowledged instances of elegance and distinction, he found them not in the north but in Flanders, in the persons of the court painters Peter Paul Rubens and, especially, Anthony Van Dyck. The latter 'had grandeur, elegance, refinement and distinction – qualities that were lacking in seventeenth-century Holland'.[15]

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[13] *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens, 1608–1687*, ed. J.A. Worp (6 vols, The Hague, 1911–1917), vol. 1, pp. 181–2: 'Ik ben waarlijk geen geleerde, maar stel belang in alle wetenschappen.' On Huygens and *honnêteté*, see Roodenburg, *Eloquence*, pp. 68–71; see also Jaap van der Veen, '"Dit klain Vertrek bevat een Weereld vol gevoel". Negentig Amsterdammers en hun kabinetten', in Ellinoor Bergvelt and Renée Kistemaker (eds), *De 'wereld' binnen handbereik. Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585–1735* (Zwolle and Amsterdam, 1992), pp. 252–6.

[14] René Descartes, *Oeuvres*, ed. Ch. Adam and Paul Tannery (Paris, 1996), vol. 3, p. 231 (letter to Marin Mersenne, 11 November 1640): 'ce Voetius a gâté aussi la demoiselle de Schurmann, car au lieu qu'elle avait l'esprit excellent pour la poésie, la peinture et autres gentillesses de cette nature, il y a déjà cing ou six ans qu'il la possède tellement qu'elle ne s'occupe plus qu'aux controverses de la théologie. Ce qui lui fait perdre la conversation des honnêtes gens.'

[15] Johan Huizinga, *Dutch Civilisation in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1968), p. 84. On Rubens and Van Dyck as gentleman painters, cf. Zirka Zaremba Filipczak,

Nor could Huizinga be bothered about the court in The Hague, let alone the Dutch nobility. He mentions them only in passing, as having played no significant role in the country's social and intellectual life. The wealthy urban regents, the likes of Jan Six, were treated far more sympathetically, but only as long as they shunned aristocratic pretensions and remained true to the merchant ethos of their hard-working fathers and grandfathers.[16]

Huizinga's essay has been extolled not only by historians but also by art and literary historians, for its inspired insights and the critical issues raised in the text. It has shaped the perception of several generations on the period, yet it has also been criticized for its idealizing and even patriotic tendencies. Confronted with the Nazi notions of a German national spirit encompassing all Germanic peoples (including the Dutch), Huizinga deliberately sought to hearten his compatriots by evoking a Dutch national character grafted onto the historical burgher. In his view, the Dutch nation as it arose in the seventeenth century had been unique, distancing itself in its civic outlook from the absolutist monarchies of the time, the forerunners of the totalitarian state.[17] Key notions in his harmonious and patriotic reading were 'such truly Dutch qualities' (taken both positively and negatively) as 'simplicity, thrift and cleanliness and, if you like, sobriety and a rather pedestrian outlook'.[18] Satisfying these criteria, even Constantijn Huygens, secretary to the princes Frederik Hendrik, William II and William III, 'had nothing of the courtier about him'. On the contrary, he 'remained a thorough burgher in spirit and attitude … [he] remained Dutch to the core of his being'.[19]

In the following pages, inspired by Peter Burke's studies on Amsterdam and Venice and on the European reception of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, I will sketch another, more refined, more exclusive and more internationally focused elite. Huygens is a case in point. Huizinga admired his versatile mind, praising his broad knowledge, his interest in theology, the natural sciences, astronomy, philosophy and literature. He also mentions his command of languages, his poetical and musical gifts, his drawing skills and even his humanist education, including the physical training he afforded his own sons. Yet he fails to recognize what Descartes, a life-long friend of Huygens, saw immediately: that all his universal knowledge, all his dabbling in the arts and sciences and his striving for elegance and distinction made him a true *honnête homme*.[20] Huygens lived up to these ideals, as did Jan

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Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550–1700 (Princeton, 1987), pp. 73–97.

[16] The original text (*Nederland's beschaving in de zeventiende eeuw*) was based on lectures given earlier at the Sorbonne in 1930 and Cologne in 1931.

[17] On these backgrounds, see Anton van der Lem, *Het eeuwige verbeeld in een afgehaald bed. Huizinga en de Nederlandse beschaving* (Amsterdam, 1997), pp. 213–20.

[18] Huizinga, *Dutch Civilisation*, p. 63.

[19] Ibid., pp. 43, 63.

[20] In 1635, Descartes wrote to their mutual friend, Jacob Golius: 'je n'avais encore pu me persuader qu'un mesme esprit se pust occuper a tant de choses et s'acquiter si bien de toutes ny demeurer si net et si present parmi une si grande diversité de pensées, et avec

Six and most of their friends and acquaintances. Often meeting and conducting a lively correspondence with each other (and like-minded elite figures abroad), they constituted an exclusive sociable universe, priding themselves on their *honnêteté* and openly looking down on Huizinga's cherished burghers, on his merchants plain and simple.

Nobles and non-nobles alike navigated that world, but in the absence of adequate cultural histories of the noble families their role remains somewhat obscure. As shown by Henk van Nierop and other historians, they still played a significant role in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially in the provinces of Groningen, Drente, Overijssel, Gelderland and Utrecht, but also in the province of Holland.[21] The families continued to dominate the power structures, thus raising the question of their continuance, of the social and cultural capital invested to that purpose, including the upbringing and education of their children and the embracing of international codes of civility.[22]

At the same time, focusing too exclusively on the nobility might fail to do justice to the proper nature of civility and its major channels of diffusion throughout Europe. While, according to Norbert Elias, civility was largely disseminated through the courts and the court nobility, other scholars – among them Marc Fumaroli, Daniel Gordon and Benedetta Craveri – have argued that the cities, with their salons or related cultural channels, were at least as important in fostering civility.[23] Following this second line of argument, let us take a closer look at the

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cela retenir une franchise si peu commune parmi les contraintes de la Cour'. Quoted in Gustave Cohen, *Écrivains français en Hollande dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle* (The Hague, 1920), p. 493.

[21] Henk van Nierop, *The Nobility of Holland: From Knights to Regents, 1500–1650* (Cambridge, 1993). See especially his introduction and the literature mentioned there; the original Dutch edition was published in 1984. See also Jan Aalbers and Maarten Prak (eds), *De bloem der natie. Adel en patriciaat in de Noordelijke Nederlanden* (Meppel and Amsterdam, 1997); Guido Marnef and René Vermeir (eds), *Adel en macht. Politiek, cultuur, economie* (Maastricht, 2004).

[22] But see Anna Frank-Van Westrienen, *De Groote Tour. Tekening van de educatiereis der Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1983), pp. 229–37; Heinz Schilling, 'The Orange Court: The Configuration of the Court in an Old European Republic', in Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (eds), *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450–1650* (London and Oxford, 1991), pp. 441–54; Marika Keblusek and Jori Zijlmans (eds), *Princely Display: The Court of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms* (Zwolle and The Hague, 1997); Jan de Jongste, Juliette Roding and Boukje Thijs (eds), *Vermaak van de elite in de vroegmoderne tijd* (Hilversum, 1998); Luuc Kooijmans, *Liefde in opdracht. Het hofleven van Willem Frederik van Nassau* (Amsterdam, 2000); Kees Zandvliet (ed.), *Maurits, prins van Oranje* (Zwolle and Amsterdam, 2000).

[23] Marc Fumaroli, 'La conversation', in Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire* (Paris, 1994), part III, vol. 2 (*Traditions*), pp. 697–734; Daniel Gordon, 'The Civilizing Process Revisited', in Gordon, *Citizens without Sovereignty: Equality and Sociability in French Thought, 1670–1789* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 86–128; Benedetta Craveri, *L'âge*

likes of Constantijn Huygens and Jan Six. If they were not Huizinga's burghers at heart, how can we best describe their world? Let us look at their books, their bodies and the boundaries marking their universe.

Books Collected

In 1995, in his fine study on the reception of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, Peter Burke gave a provisional list of all its readers before 1700.[24] He counted 328 throughout Europe, from Spain and Italy to Sweden and from Ireland to Russia. He even found some stray Dutchmen: six in all, if we omit the two professionals he included – the Catholic administrator who tried to censor the text around 1570, and the book's translator, Lambert van den Bos.[25] This poor reception only seemed to confirm the reputation of the Dutch: poor breeding, poor manners. But when I started digging around for more Dutch readers, I soon unearthed another 16, in the catalogues of private libraries that were put up for auction.[26] Of course, 22 readers is still a modest score, but more lovers of Castiglione will surely come to light through a systematic search of such catalogues and of the family archives of both nobles and non-nobles.

In the meantime, we are better informed as to who actually read the *Cortegiano*. Burke mentioned the Leiden citizen Huijch van Alkemade, the Haarlem painter Karel van Mander, the diplomats Nicolaes Heinsius and Abraham de Wicquefort, the librarian Franciscus Junius and, of course, Jan Six. Among the 16 readers that can now be added to his list are Constantijn Huygens and his second son, the scientist Christiaan Huygens. Other owners of the *Cortegiano* include the poet and classicist Daniel Heinsius, the father of Nicolaes; the diplomat and Grand Pensionary of Holland, Adriaen Pauw; another Amsterdam burgomaster, Joan Huydecoper; and a nobleman and diplomat, Martin Snouckaert van Schauwenburg. More significantly perhaps, professors and physicians read Castiglione too. One of them was Jacobus Trigland, professor of theology at Leiden University and the grandson of the intransigent Calvinist of the same name. Obviously, reading the

de la conversation (Paris, 2002), pp. 15–22, 396–7; for a more recent, deconstructionist perspective, see Antoine Lilti, *Le monde des salons. Sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2005).

[24] Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the 'Courtier': The European Reception of Castiglione's 'Cortegiano'* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 163–78.

[25] Baldassare de Castiglione, *De volmaeckte hovelinck* (Amsterdam, 1662); a second edition came out in 1675.

[26] Perhaps I should add that I was one of the Dutch correspondents Peter Burke approached when he was compiling his list. Being pressed for time, I served him badly then.

Cortegiano was not the prerogative of diplomats and Amsterdam burgomasters: a scholarly elite also valued Castiglione's aristocratic ideals.[27]

Moreover, like Jan Six's library, these other libraries contained a range of texts on civility and *honnêteté* – from Della Casa, Guazzo and Giovanni Bonifacio to La Noue, Faret, Du Bosc, Gracián, De Courtin, De Refuge, Bary and De Méré. Conversely, there were libraries that boasted many of these other titles, but not the *Cortegiano*. A fine example is the impressive library of Constantijn Huygens the Younger, a close friend of Jan de Bisschop and a commendable draughtsman himself. Leafing through the book sales catalogues we find a wealth of civility texts, which suggests that for a growing segment of the Dutch elite such manuals had become instrumental in developing their own notions of civility. Most of these texts were French or Italian. This political and scholarly elite had a thorough command of foreign languages and, as the catalogues demonstrate, it had already begun to read such manuals from the late sixteenth century on.[28]

This last point belies the alleged process of 'aristocratization', in which wealthy regents supposedly appropriated the codes of civility only from the middle of the seventeenth century.[29] Nor does it seem correct to speak of 'aristocratization' in any forceful sense, of commoners who largely adopted the values and lifestyle of the contemporary aristocracy. As the century progressed,

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[27] The following is an overview of the catalogues I consulted: those of the Utrecht burgomaster and humanist Dirk Canter (1545–1616), the Leiden scholar Johan Phryxaeus (d. 1629), the classicist and poet Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655), the diplomat and Grand Pensionary of Holland Adriaan Pauw (1585–1653), the poet and courtier Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687), the Leiden Arabist Jacob Golius (1596–1667), the Rotterdam physician Petrus van Willige (d. 1650), the diplomat and nobleman Martin Snouckaert van Schauwenburg (1602–1680), the school rector Isaac Gruterus (1610–1680), the Amsterdam lawyer Hendrik van der Hem (d. 1673), the Amsterdam burgomaster Jan Six (1618–1700), the philologist and diplomat Nicolaas Heinsius (1620–1681), the Amsterdam burgomaster Joan Huydecoper (1625–1704), the scientist Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695), the Groningen orientalist Jacob Oisel (1631–1686), the professor of Greek and history at the Amsterdam Athenaeum Illustre Petrus Francius (1645–1704), the professor of Botany and Medicine at Leiden University Pierre Hotton (1648–1709) and the professor of theology at the same university Jacobus Trigland (1652–1705). All these men owned copies of the *Cortegiano*. Other catalogues containing similar texts but not the *Cortegiano* are those of the courtier Constantijn Huygens the Younger (1628–1697), the Amsterdam merchant and collector Albert Bentes (1643–1701) and the Franeker professor of history and eloquence Jacob Perizonius (1651–1715). Most of the catalogues may be consulted at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague.

[28] See also Roodenburg, *Eloquence*, pp. 41–4.

[29] Daniel J. Roorda, 'The Ruling Class in Holland in the Seventeenth Century', in John S. Bromley and Ernst H. Kossmann (eds) *Britain and the Netherlands* (Utrecht and Groningen, 1964), pp. 109–32; Henk van Dijk and Daniel J. Roorda, 'Sociale mobiliteit onder regenten van de Republiek', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 84 (1971): 306–28; Spierenburg, *Elites*.

the regents and their families certainly embraced a more ostentatious lifestyle. Like Jan Six, they bought their own country houses; but it should be borne in mind that, with few exceptions, they never actually lived on their estates, using them instead as summer residences, as welcome and undoubtedly prestigious retreats from their daily affairs in town. The names of various houses (for example *Buitensorg*, *Tijdverdrijf*, *Vredenhof* or *Sorghvliet*) clearly reflect this function. They all referred to their owner's *otium*.[30] Moreover, few, if any, regents boasted about the titles thus acquired. If having one or more seigneurial titles raised one's rank or status while travelling abroad, they were of little consequence within the domestic context. The regents also ignored the strict rules of endogamy as observed by the Dutch (or the Venetian) nobility: other prominent families could always marry into their ranks and, as demonstrated by Six, obtain regents' posts themselves.[31] Finally, they never adopted the nobleman's ethos, with its discriminatory notions of blood, honour and *virtus*.[32] Accordingly, we had better abandon the notion of aristocratization altogether when analysing the Republic's social structure, or use it simply in the general sense of leaning towards a certain stylishness or grandeur that aristocrats and non-aristocrats tended to identify with the aristocracy. Generally, this is what civility meant at the time; its value was always loaded with aristocratic 'allure'.[33] For the Dutch elite much of this stylishness and grandeur, though representing a wider European universe, derived from France.[34]

In addition to the tomes on civility the libraries contained many other titles. Books on law, theology, medicine, the natural sciences and mathematics made up the bulk of the collections. And there is the rubric of *libri miscellanei*, in

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[30] Cf. Peter Burke, *Venice and Amsterdam: A Study of Seventeenth-Century Elites* (Cambridge, 1994; 2nd edn), pp. 82–3; the poet and Grand Pensionary of Holland, Jacob Cats, owned Sorghvliet ('fleeing worry'); Huygens, the courtier, owned *Hofwyck* ('escaping the court').

[31] Six joined the Amsterdam regents' families by marrying Margaretha Tulp, daughter of the physician and burgomaster Nicolaes Tulp. Six himself, perhaps because he was a refugee's son, was only appointed burgomaster in 1691, holding more modest posts before; on Venetian nobility, see Burke, *Venice*, pp. 30–51.

[32] On this discussion, see Luuc Kooijmans, 'Patriciaat en aristocratisering in Holland tijdens de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', in J. Aalberts and M. Prak (eds), *De bloem der natie* (Amsterdam, 1987), pp. 93–103; J.L. Price, 'The Dutch Nobility in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries', in H.M. Scott (ed.), *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London and New York, 1995), pp. 82–113.

[33] As Anna Bryson concluded for Tudor and Stuart England, 'the value of "civility" in manners was always loaded with the "allure" of gentlemanly courtliness'. See her *From Courtesy to Civility*, p. 62.

[34] On the elite's 'francophilia', see especially Frank-Van Westrienen, *De Groote Tour*, pp. 203–42; Willem Frijhoff, 'Verfransing? Franse taal en Nederlandse cultuur tot in de revolutietijd', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 104 (1989): 592–609.

which can be discerned the more gentlemanly interests of their owners, covering a wide range of subjects – from the arts of conversation, letter-writing, music and connoisseurship to those of fencing, horsemanship and gardening. Together with the owners' collections of paintings and drawings, often combined with *artificialia* and *naturalia*, the libraries provided the archival memory of their *honnêteté*, of their being versed in all the arts and sciences without becoming professional artists or scholars themselves. The manuals on civility proper, classified among the *libri miscellanei*, constituted merely a fraction of the books. Importantly, before enrolling at the university, boys often received instruction from private tutors, including painters and musicians, to amass all this cultural capital. Huygens, for example, had his sons and only daughter tutored by the painter Pieter Monincx; at university Pieter Couwenhoorn also tutored Constantijn and Christiaan. In his own youth, Huygens had been taught by the painters Hendrik Hondius and Jacob Hoefnagel.

Bodies Fashioned

As we have seen, during the later sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century, diplomats, regents and scholars had already begun to purchase foreign manuals of civility. But we should be aware that these manuals, like other specific texts, for instance on pulpit delivery and bodily eloquence in general,[35] were basically a prompt to performance, nothing more than a mnemonic device. Transmission depended more on embodied memory, on performances, gestures and orality, and far less on archival memory.[36] Few if any of the manuals failed to drive the message home: no one would ever grasp the codes of civility simply by reading texts. It was a question of upbringing, of parents and teachers fashioning and training children's bodies from early childhood, and of continuing such fashioning, mainly through lessons in dancing, fencing and horse-riding. One's civility should manifest itself as wholly natural, as if it were inbred. It was only through such constant moulding and exercising that one's posture and gestures would adopt the *sprezzatura*, the carelessness and negligence that we find depicted in Rembrandt's etching of Jan Six. It was all about distinction and elegance.

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[35] Cf. Herman Roodenburg, 'From Embodying the Rules to Embodying Belief: Some Contours of Eighteenth-Century Pulpit Delivery in England, Germany and the Netherlands', in Joris van Eijnatten (ed.), *Preaching, Sermon and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 314–16.

[36] Cf. Connerton's distinction between 'inscribing' and 'incorporating' practices (see above, n. 12) and Taylor's distinction between 'archive' and 'repertoire'; Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, NC and London, 2003).

How did such fashioning work? First of all, as Georges Vigarello pointed out, bodies should be upright.[37] Indeed, parents spared no trouble or expense to correct a child's stooped posture or other physical defects, such as a drooping head or bandy legs. If needed, orthopaedic appliances and even surgery were used to remedy the problem. If a deformity showed itself from after birth, the mother, midwife or doctor would mould the still pliable limbs into shape. Then, in their first months of life children were tightly wrapped in swaddling clothes, after which they were dressed in close-fitting corsets until the age of five or six. From then on, the boys could do without such contraptions and were trained instead, often by private masters, in the arts of dancing, fencing and horse-riding. The memoirs of Constantijn Huygens on his own upbringing and that of his sons describe this process minutely.[38] The daughters of the elite were generally spared such exertions. Of course, they had their dancing lessons which, like the instruction for boys, aimed at developing a gracious, upright bearing. Still, theirs was always a softer, gentler grace than the more robust and muscular variety expected of their brothers. It was this expensive (and therefore highly exclusive) embodied culture that the written culture of the manuals could never compete with.

As regards boys, the years they spent at Leiden University or at Protestant academies in France as part of their Grand Tour often set the seal on their physical education. As various letters and memoirs reveal, both the students' parents and their professors deemed such cultural capital essential. For example, in 1631 the famous humanist and philologist Claude Saumaise, having recently been appointed at Leiden University, met a promising student by the name of Dionysius Vossius. He was clearly pleased with the boy. In a letter to Dionysius' father, his no less famous colleague Gerardus Vossius, Saumaise praised the boy's countenance, gait and bearing – in short, his overall elegance and physical grace.[39] Or take Constantijn Huygens, who in 1644 noted that Constantijn the Younger, his eldest son, having just enrolled at Leiden University, had become 'strong and manly for his age, also having a handsome countenance and bearing'. Like Dionysius, he was complimented not so much on his intellectual or scholarly qualities (though they were considerable), but rather his physical grace.[40] Similarly, the young Jonas Witsen was described by his elder brother Nicolaes as disposing of 'very many virtues, apart from corporeal beauty'. Among the boy's 'virtues' were his being

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[37] Georges Vigarello, 'The Upward Training of the Body from the Age of Chivalry to Courtly Civility', in Michael Feher (ed.), *Fragments for a History of the Human Body* (3 vols, New York, 1989), vol. 2, pp. 149–96.

[38] Roodenburg, *Eloquence*, pp. 77–111.

[39] F.F. Blok, *Isaac Vossius en zijn kring, Zijn leven tot zijn afscheid van koningin Christina van Zweden, 1618–1655* (Groningen, 1999), p. 18.

[40] [Constantijn Huygens], 'Fragment eener autobiographie van Constantijn Huygens, medegedeeld door Dr. J.A. Worp', *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 18 (1897): 141.

versed in the arts and sciences, his dancing, singing and musical gifts, and also his painting and drawing talents, thanks to instruction from the painter Jan Lievens.[41]

Having arrived in Leiden, all students could continue the dancing, fencing and riding lessons they had previously received as part of their education at home.[42] According to Jean de Parival, a Frenchman who spent most of his life in Leiden, the town was full of *maîtres d'exercice*, offering instruction in the handling of arms and in mathematics, dancing, drawing or music. As one father wrote, the boys should continue their 'exercises of singing, fencing and dancing, so that they would not "deteriorate"'. Such schools often provided a combination of courses, teaching not only dancing and fencing but also mathematics.[43] Understandably, the professors had their reservations. As a professor of theology lamented, it was odd to see the students enter the lecture rooms and debate with one another, rapiers at their side. In Leiden the students also rubbed shoulders with the sons of the Protestant European nobility, who brought their own standards of civility. In addition, there was a military academy in The Hague, attended for further instruction in fencing and riding, including tilting at the ring, for instance by the nobleman Frederik Christaan van Reede, the later second count of Athlone.[44]

While the Republic's dancing, fencing and riding schools offered a solid grounding, the academies and social circles in Paris and elsewhere provided the final polish, the icing on the cake. Already, in the first half of the seventeenth century, it had become increasingly common to make a Grand Tour. Most young men travelled to France or Italy, where they learned the finer points of civility and the art of conversation.[45] Paris was probably the most favoured of all the destinations. 'Paris les peut former', as the Dutch ambassador wrote to the statesman Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547–1619), who had sought his advice as to how his sons might best proceed on their Grand Tour. As the ambassador continued, the boys should focus on their *exercices* [*sic*], on 'mathematics, horse-riding, the handling of arms and other functions of the nobility, but above all on conversation, frequenting the court … and often visiting the grand'. As it turned out, both young men, who sojourned in Paris in 1608 and 1609, preferred the tennis court and Antoine de Pluvinel's famous riding academy to their more intellectual exercises.[46]

Some 40 years later, Paris could count numerous such private educational institutions and many others had been established outside the capital, for instance in the towns of Angers, Saumur and Orléans. They attracted the sons of both the sword and robe nobilities in France, and the sons of German, Dutch, English and

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41 J.E. Elias, *De vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578–1795* (2 vols, Haarlem, 1903–1905), vol. 1, p. 439; also quoted in van der Veen, 'Dit klain vertrek', p. 255.

42 For a fuller description, see my *Eloquence*, pp. 77–111.

43 Frank-Van Westrienen, *De Groote Tour*, pp. 230–32.

44 Marieke Knuijt et al., *De adel in beweging. Aspecten van een sportief leven op een adellijk huis* (Amerongen, 1999), p. 6.

45 Cf. Peter Burke, *The Art of Conversation* (Cambridge, 1993), esp. pp. 89–122.

46 Quoted in Frank-Van Westrienen, *De Groote Tour*, p. 207.

other elites, offering the now widely accepted curriculum of military mathematics, geometry and fortification, combined with exercises in dancing, music, drawing, fencing, wrestling, tennis and horsemanship. As the historian Mark Motley noted, from the end of the sixteenth century the academies had become 'a vector for the code of graceful behaviour derived from the Italian Renaissance', emphasizing in particular 'the exhibition of the body as a sign of social status'.[47] In short, it was all about perfecting the students' social and physical graces. As one Dutch parent phrased it, in Paris they could learn everything 'that may fashion the mind and the body, enlightening the former through conversation and developing a good bearing, agility and vigour through the latter'.[48] It was a largely oral and extremely expensive education, but that was precisely the point: it ensured the exclusivity of graceful movement, the heart of the elites' 'inbred' superiority, of civility's *non so che*.

Boundaries Guarded

To grasp how this sociable world functioned, how these *honnête hommes* sought to distinguish themselves from the merchants plain and simple, we might consider the visits they paid to artists, and especially a couple of such visits to the workshop of Johannes Vermeer in the 1660s. For a long time the Delft painter remained a mystery, a genius *manqué*, making him all the more beloved of art historians and the public at large. Even the historian John Michael Montias, who finally gave us a historically sound Vermeer, found it hard to believe that the painter's fame might have extended beyond Delft's city walls, that – as two contemporary diaries suggest – it had spread to the highest circles in The Hague.[49] In 1663 the French diplomat Balthasar de Monconys (1611–1665) travelled from The Hague to Delft with but a single objective – to meet the painter. Six years later, in 1669, the Hague regent Pieter Teding van Berckhout (1643–1713) even made two visits.[50]

Two or three diary notes may not seem like much to go on. But then again we have the person of Constantijn Huygens, who most likely accompanied Berckhout on his first visit to Vermeer. So did two other gentlemen, a Rotterdam regent and a former ambassador to England. It was probably also Huygens who recommended

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[47] Mark Motley, *Becoming a French Aristocrat: The Education of the Court Nobility 1580–1715* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 123–4.

[48] Quoted in Frank-Van Westrienen, *De Groote Tour*, p. 216.

[49] John Michael Montias, 'Recent Archival Research on Vermeer', in Ivan Gaskell and Marijke Jonker (eds), *Vermeer Studies* (New Haven, 1998), p. 99; part of the present paragraph is based on Herman Roodenburg, 'Visiting Vermeer: Performing Civility', in Amy Golahny et al. (eds), *In His Milieu: Essays on Netherlandish Art in Memory of John Michael Montias* (Amsterdam, 2007), pp. 385–94.

[50] Ben Broos, 'Un celebre Peijntre nommé Verme[e]r', in Arthur K. Wheelock (ed.), *Johannes Vermeer*, exhibition catalogue, National Gallery of Art (Washington DC, 1995), pp. 48–9.

Vermeer to de Monconys. The two diplomats had met a few months earlier at a session of the London Royal Society in June 1663. We also know that de Monconys called on Huygens in The Hague and admired his host's impressive art collection. A few days later he asked Huygens to join him on an excursion to Leiden, to inspect the workshops of Gerard Dou and Frans van Mieris.[51]

Reading these and other similar diary notes, one is struck by the group nature of such visits. During his first visit to Vermeer, Berckhout was accompanied by three friends and de Monconys by two. As the painter Samuel van Hoogstraten confirms, this was undoubtedly how such things were arranged.[52] Visits to notable collections displayed a similar social structure. In 1625 Jacob van den Burch (1599–1659), secretary to Count Johan Wolfert van Brederode, invited Huygens to call upon the Leiden merchant Matthijs van Overbeke to inspect his remarkable collection of paintings. Initially Huygens refused: 'The man is rich, but he seems very plain to me.' Five years later, after a second invitation – this time from Caspar Barlaeus – he reconsidered and answered that he would be pleased to meet this merchant, 'who uses his riches so well'.[53] Such excursions, then, were both collective and exclusive undertakings. Conscious of their role as *honnêtes hommes*, these early connoisseurs were not overly interested in a plain merchant's cultural capital.[54] As Anna Bryson noted for early modern England, the codes of civility served both as a means of orientation and as a means of definition, of social exclusion.[55]

That Huygens and de Monconys met at the Royal Society was no coincidence; both were as interested in the sciences as in the arts. Yet as Huygens emphasized, he was no scholar, only a *liefhebber* or *curieux*, as they were also called. His son Christiaan was much more a man of learning, being a member both of the Royal Society and of the Paris Académie des sciences. His would seem to be an altogether different world. But, as Steven Shapin argued in his study of civility and science in seventeenth-century England, science was to a remarkable degree a gentlemanly undertaking. Reminding us of Castiglione's ideal courtier, the

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[51] Ibid.

[52] Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Den eerlycken jongeling, of de edele kunst, van zich by groote en kleyne te doen eeren en beminnen* (Rotterdam, 1657).

[53] *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens, 1608–1687*, ed. J.A. Worp (6 vols, The Hague, 1911–1917), vol. 1, pp. 179, 181.

[54] On Mattijs van Overbeke, see Aernout van Overbeke, *Anecdota sive Historiae Jocosae*, eds Rudolf Dekker and Herman Roodenburg (Amsterdam, 1991), pp. x–xi; on the rise of the connoisseur and his display of cultural capital in early seventeenth-century Antwerp, see Elizabeth Honig, 'The Beholder as a Work of Art: A Study in the Location of Value in Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painting', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 46 (1995): 252–97, esp. pp. 278–9.

[55] Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, pp. 276–83.

members of the Royal Society preferred to present themselves not as scholars but as 'disinterested amateurs'.[56]

Inevitably, there was a world of difference between the Huygenses and, for instance, the draper and microscopist Antoni van Leeuwenhoek who, as Christiaan noted, was 'a person unlearned both in sciences and languages' and who communicated his findings to the Royal Society through rough and vulgarly styled letters, thereby compromising his credibility. Indeed, van Leeuwenhoek admitted this himself, writing in his first letter to the Society that he had 'no style or pen to express my thoughts', and that he was not raised 'in languages or arts, but in trade'.[57] As Shapin argues, it was precisely the conventions and codes of gentlemanly conversation, this genteel identity, which offered a new and authoritative domain within seventeenth-century science for solving problems of scientific evidence, testimony and acceptance. Leeuwenhoek was fortunate, finding in Christiaan Huygens an interpreter and broker who could bypass the strict codes of social exclusivity normally operating in this world of 'disinterested amateurs', of gentlemen cherishing their *honnête* identity.

Visiting valuable collections like Van Overbeke's was another favourite outing. As recent studies have shown, many of the collections assembled in early modern Europe included both *artificialia* and *naturalia*; there was no clear-cut distinction between the arts and the sciences. Many of them contained a variety of objects for visitors to admire, including paintings, drawings, sculpture and coins, but also shells, minerals, bones and all kinds of 'wonders of nature'. Scholars have also emphasized the crucial role of the collections as 'sites of knowledge', as vectors in the new epistemology, the great seventeenth-century shift 'from texts to things, from language to laboratory, from nature emblematized to nature laid bare'.[58] Having been taught by painters, the *honnête homme* had the know-how and acumen to discuss seriously the paintings and drawings collected, as he was sufficiently versed in all the sciences of his day to converse intelligently about the other objects in the collections, about both the *artificialia* and the *naturalia*.

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[56] Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago and London, 1994), p. 121.

[57] Ibid., pp. 306–7; Klaas van Berkel, 'Intellectuals against Leeuwenhoek: Controversies about the Methods and Style of a Self-Taught Scientist', in L.C. Palm and H.A.M. Snelders (eds), *Antoni van Leeuwenhoek 1632–1723: Studies on the Life and Work of the Delft Scientist Commemorating the 350th Anniversary of his Birthday* (Amsterdam, 1982), p. 188.

[58] James J. Bono, *The Word of God and the Language of Man: Interpreting Nature in Early Modern Science* (Madison, 1995), p. 272, quoted in Eric Jorink, 'Alles hangt met alles samen. Enige opmerkingen over de achttiende-eeuwse verzamelcultuur in de Republiek', *De Achttiende Eeuw*, 39/1 (2007): 40–49, p. 44. Most of the research on the Netherlands goes back to an innovative exhibition mounted in 1992; see Bergvelt and Kistemaker, *De 'wereld' binnen handbereik*; see also Ellinoor Bergvelt, Debora Meijers and Mieke Rijnders (eds), *Verzamelen. Van rariteitenkabinet tot kunstmuseum* (Heerlen, 1993).

The seventeenth-century Netherlands counted numerous such 'cabinets of curiosities', which raises the question of their exclusivity. What was the social status of the collectors and visitors? And how accessible were the collections? Apparently some of them, including Six's, were open only to friends or special guests, while others – sometimes asking an entrance fee – really welcomed visitors. Collectors and visitors came in all kinds. The most prestigious were the *liefhebbers*. Writing to his brother Christaan, Constantijn Huygens the Younger noted that the merchant and collector Philips de Flines was driven 'par un instinct de curiosité seulement'. He had no commercial ambitions.[59] Among the most illustrious visitors to collections were the rulers Cosimo de' Medici, his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm, and Peter the Great. Among the foreign diplomats we have de Monconys, of course, but also the brothers Charles and François Ogier.[60] In 1644, François went to see the collection of the Amsterdam merchant and banker Joachim de Wicquefort, a brother of Abraham. He called its owner an *honnête homme* and his collection 'la vertu et la civilité même'. Another well-known collector was the clerk of the States-General, François Fagel, who summarized his attitude to life as 'De faire mon devoir et d'estre honneste homme et bon ami.'[61]

Obviously, there was a select and internationally focused top layer, a network of collectors and visitors who all cherished their *honnête* identities and closely guarded the boundaries. Merchants as well as professors, ministers and artists may have shared their interests, but having received a less exclusive education they often lacked the requisite cultural capital, including the proper codes of civility and those of the art of conversation. Rembrandt, for instance, built his own curiosity cabinet, collecting not only paintings and drawings but also natural history objects, shells and ethnographic materials. As has been argued, by emulating the fashionable gentlemanly interest in the arts and the sciences, he may have sought to enhance his own social prestige; but, if he did, he failed.[62] More successful were de Flines or the Amsterdam merchants Gerard and Jan Reynst. Their cabinet, housed in Gerard's mansion on the Keizersgracht, included the famous Vendramin collection, which Jan had bought in Venice. Many of the etchings in de Bisschop's *Paradigmata* were copied from paintings in that collection. The prestige of the two brothers rose accordingly. They amassed enough cultural capital to lure even Amalia van Solms, the wife of Prince Frederik Hendrik, to come and peruse their cabinet. But like de

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[59] Jaap van der Veen, 'Liefhebbers, handelaren en kunstenaars. Het verzamelen van schilderijen en papierkunst', in Bergvelt and Kistemaker, *De 'wereld' binnen handbereik*, p. 132.

[60] For an impression of the visitors and their social status, see Roelof van Gelder, 'Liefhebbers en geleerde luiden. Nederlandse kabinetten en hun bezoekers', in Bergvelt and Kistemakers, *De 'wereld' binnen handbereik*, pp. 289–91.

[61] Both quotations are taken from van der Veen, *Liefhebbers*, p. 254.

[62] Robert W. Scheller, 'Rembrandt en de encyclopedische kunstkamer', *Oud-Holland*, 84 (1969): 128–31,

Flines, they may never have been accepted among the likes of Six and Huygens.[63] It was even harder for women. The poet and playwright Catharina Questiers might have been an *honnête femme*. She was lauded for her literary achievements, but also for her painting, sculpting and singing talents, as well as her collection of paintings, drawings, antiquities and naturalia. As a friend of Huygens wrote, 'elle … se mesle de la peinture, sculpture et de plusieurs autres gentillesses'; but he added disdainfully that her father was a 'marchand de plomb'.[64]

As Anne Goldgar has shown in her recent study on the period's love of the tulip, even keeping a garden for cultivating tulips and other rare or exotic flowers was considered an exclusive pursuit; it made a suitable partner for a cabinet of curiosities. Indeed, in sixteenth-century Flanders, where the growing and collecting of tulips had begun, most of the *liefhebbers* belonged to the nobility.[65] In turn, these noble families and wealthy merchant families from Antwerp introduced the collecting of *artificialia* and *naturalia* to the north, along with the view, as Goldgar writes, that 'collecting was an elite enterprise, a sign of social success'. Describing a sociable universe of visits and return visits, of a lively exchange of letters and of *liefhebbers* able to converse about natural history, she concludes: 'Knowing about flowers, like knowing about art, was a badge of cultivation, of status, of participation in a world that could afford the expensive and had the cultural capital to be able to talk about it.'[66]

Conclusion

Praising the country's social harmony once again, Huizinga wrote: 'Intellectual life was not greatly affected by the aristocratic manners with which the magisterial circle tried to improve itself, and the cultural outlook even of the patricians remained essentially bourgeois.'[67] In this chapter I have suggested a different, more balanced point of view. I have sought to demonstrate that at least among an elite corps of courtiers, diplomats, regents and scholars the art of conversation

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[63] Anne-Marie S. Logan, *The 'Cabinet' of the Brothers Gerard and Jan Reynst* (Amsterdam, 1979), pp. 11–12.

[64] Quoted in van der Veen, *Liefhebbers*, p. 252.

[65] Anne Goldgar, *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago and London, 2007), pp. 70–73; the author also discusses Rembrandt and the Reynst brothers.

[66] Ibid., pp. 70, 122; on collectors and their international correspondence, see also Florike Egmond, 'Correspondence and Natural History in the Sixteenth Century: Cultures of Exchange in the Circle of Carolus Clusius', in F. Bethencourt and F. Egmond (eds), *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 104–42; and Irene Baldigra, 'The Role of Correspondence in the Transmission of Collecting Patterns in Seventeenth-Century Europe: Models, Media and Main Characters', ibid., pp. 187–216.

[67] Huizinga, *Dutch Civilisation*, p. 24.

and the corresponding codes of *civilité* and *honnêteté* were as alive as in other European elites. This Dutch elite was not an exception to the general European interest in Castiglione's *Cortegiano* and in the many texts inspired by it. On the contrary; it lived up to these ideals. From the late sixteenth century, it embraced the social and physical graces developed in Italy and France, and, like the other European elites, it understood well the advantages of the Grand Tour and the final polish it gave to one's conversational skills and bodily demeanour. It also cherished the same cultural capital of polite dabbling in all arts and sciences. Busily corresponding with and often meeting comparable gentlemen in other European countries, sharing their love of the arts and the sciences, they were true *honnêtes hommes*.

Rather than aiming all my barbs at Huizinga, I wanted to qualify the time-worn cliché of the plain and sober seventeenth-century *burger* which, building on an older historiographical tradition, he established so firmly as embodying the nation's national character. Of course, more than six decades later we are far better informed about the Dutch noble, regent and other wealthy families, and especially their political and economic histories. Nevertheless, we still lack an in-depth cultural history of this elite: its upbringing and education, the gender issues involved, its manners and social circles, its leisure and travel and its *liefhebberen* in the arts and sciences.[68] At the same time, thanks to recent studies – for example of the court of Orange and the urban regents, and also of the sciences, collecting and connoisseurship, sports and leisure, and the body and dress – the first contours of such a cultural history are taking shape. It is a history that was much more than just a national history, and was grafted onto the cosmopolitan notions of *civilité* and *honnêtete*; and, like the elites in Italy, Spain, France or England, it encompassed nobles and non-nobles alike. It all confirms Burke's panorama, sketched in his *The Fortunes of the 'Courtier'* and already present in his *Venice and Amsterdam*, of a polished international elite consisting of both aristocrats and non-aristocrats.

The fact that the European codes of civility could also appeal to commoners should not surprise us. The term 'civility' had both aristocratic and civic connotations and these could easily be mapped in different social orders. These associations are already present in Erasmus' *De civilitate morum puerilium*, the first Renaissance text actually to discuss manners under this new heading. Though Erasmus hardly stressed the aristocratic connotations, he nevertheless dedicated his manual to a child of noble descent, and began his instruction by explaining that all noblemen were in need of good manners. Similarly, the aristocratic and the civic did not form a marked contrast in Italian texts on civility, reflecting, as Bryson notes, the open urban culture of Renaissance Italy, with its images of a polity in which the 'civic' and the 'citizen' were seldom pitted against the 'aristocratic' and the 'nobleman'. Della Casa, for instance, addressed his audience as *gentiluomini*,

[68] Cf. Burke's observation in 1994 that 'relatively few historians have studied the culture and mentalities as well as the wealth and power' of the European urban patriciates; Burke, *Venice and Amsterdam*, p. xiv.

though he regarded his *Galateo* primarily as a guide for individuals living in cities.[69] Similarly, while Castiglione and Guazzo put the nobility first, they did not exclude other echelons from grace and *sprezzatura*. Guazzo, already translated into Dutch in 1603, even wrote explicitly of scholars and wealthy commoners.[70]

As for French texts on civility, Norbert Elias's notion that seventeenth-century civility developed primarily (though not perforce exclusively) at the hierarchic court of Versailles has been challenged by Fumaroli, Gordon and Craveri, who emphasize how from the very first decades civility and the art of conversation prospered in the city, in the salons of Madame de Rambouillet and other aristocratic ladies, where, on an egalitarian footing, both nobles and well-educated commoners convened.[71] It is these circles into which, for instance, Constantijn Huygens and his sons were admitted. As *honnêtes hommes*, they were natural and welcome guests in the salons. Indeed, Huygens already corresponded with Guez de Balzac, Valentin Conrart and Blaise Pascal, who all belonged to this gentlemanly universe.

Like the salons, however, the sociable world of *honnêtes gens* in the Dutch Republic was definitely hierarchical. Looking for possible connections between Dutch notions of civility and republicanism, it is certainly tempting to adapt Gordon's characterization of the salons as regulated by egalitarian civility to the cultured world of courtiers, regents and scholars in the Dutch Republic. But as Antoine Lilti has argued, the salons were not quite the vectors of democratic sociability described by Gordon.[72] Similarly, the *honnêtes hommes* in the Republic may well have suspended hierarchical norms in their frequent meetings with artists, professors or merchants to gratify their love of the arts and sciences; but it seems unlikely, at least in the seventeenth century, that they ever forgot their own upbringing, their 'inbred' superiority.

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[69] Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, pp. 60–61.

[70] Manfred Hinz, *Rhetorische Strategien des Hoffmannes. Studien zu den Italienischen Hofmannstraktaten des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1992), pp. 114–15.

[71] See note 23.

[72] Lilti, *Le monde des salons*, pp. 51–3, 208.

PART IV
Cultural Encounters

Chapter 14
Dancing Savages: Stereotypes and Cultural Encounters across the Atlantic in the Age of European Expansion[1]

Alessandro Arcangeli

In the introduction to her *Dancing in the Streets: A History of Collective Joy*, the American journalist and essayist Barbara Ehrenreich tells the reader that 'jarring to European sensibilities [during their campaigns of conquest and exploration of new worlds] was the almost ubiquitous practice of ecstatic ritual, in which the natives would gather to dance, sing or chant to a state of exhaustion and, beyond that, sometimes trance'. Her repertoire of examples is wide, both geographically and chronologically. For instance, on the corroboree rite of Western Australians, she quotes Charles Darwin as reporting that:

> The dancing consisted in their running either sideways or in Indian file into an open space, and stamping the ground with great force as they marched together. Their heavy footsteps were accompanied with a kind of grunt, by beating their clubs and spears together, and by various other gesticulations, such as extending their arms and wriggling their bodies. It was a most rude, barbarous scene, and, to our ideas, without any sort of meaning.[2]

This is not the appropriate place for a full review of Ehrenreich's book. I will mention simply that, in her opinion, the ubiquitous disgust and surprise expressed by European observers witnessing such scenes deserve historical explanation. In fact, Ehrenreich suggests that in the past Europe also expressed collective joy by communal ecstatic dancing, either as a form of religious ritual or mere recreation and as a means of strengthening social cohesion, as she proves with the cases of Dionysian worship on the one hand and of carnival revels on the other. Then reform and repression came – in this book, as in many others, with reference to Peter Burke's ground-breaking *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*[3] – and

[1] I would like to thank Joan-Pau Rubiés for his helpful bibliographical recommendations and comments to earlier versions of this contribution.

[2] Barbara Ehrenreich, *Dancing in the Streets: A History of Collective Joy* (London, 2007), p. 2.

[3] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1978).

uprooted these customs so effectively that, when met again elsewhere, they appeared strange. As my rough summary may already suggest, Ehrenreich's work runs the risk typical of several generalizations, namely, to lose what is specific to particular cultural forms while trying to reduce too many phenomena to one overarching explanation. She also has a clear socio-political agenda, which certainly enlivens her book but also affects its nature as a historical reconstruction. I will return to further details of her narrative later.

Within early modern ballet and assorted displays and performances (from exhibitions of real people to their impersonation by masked European actors), the dancing savage is a familiar character. The link between what European people saw on the stage and what they experienced while travelling the world and seeing other people (not to mention the broader case of reading accounts of what real or imaginary travellers' had seen) is self-evident. It would be interesting to know in more detail in which areas – at the time of early modern cultural encounters – European perceptions were extensively conditioned by expectations that structured their experience, regardless of what they were actually going to encounter; and what, instead, took them really by surprise, thus firing their imagination beyond expectation. To what extent were pre-existing stereotypes the frame within which a variety of cultural practices and behaviour was interpreted, and how much instead did new encounters help redefine previous knowledge and reorientate attitudes?

Along these lines, Iain Fenlon has recently raised the fundamental issue that Europeans used such categories as music and dance in interpreting practices that in the natives' culture might have had totally different natures and served other purposes.[4] This comment is obviously relevant, and from this perspective looking at exotic native music and dance forms from a Western point of view is one *question mal posée*. On the other hand, it is a legitimate one if the objects of our enquiries are (European) cultural representations rather than American or African practices *per se*.

Let us start from pre-knowledge, or prejudice: were Europeans expecting to find other people, and particularly people they perceived as being at a lower level of civilization, characteristically engaged in singing, making music and dancing? In the age of European expansion, travellers and conquerors met many people they were not expecting to find. They were, however, expecting to find some (from the Old World, rather than the New); and they had preconceived notions of what was typical of civilized societies rather than barbarian groups. Within such cultural schemes the 'dancing savage' was already present in some form.

One dimension of European medieval experience where we encounter him is within the world of festive and theatrical life. In a survey of the late medieval stage, the Californian dance historian A. William Smith has collected data on about 40 instances of public representation of savages, in various types of festive performances throughout Europe between the early thirteenth and the mid-sixteenth

[4] Iain Fenlon, 'Other Worlds than Ours: Music and Ritual in Early Spanish America', *Itineraria*, 6 (2007): 145–58.

centuries. The earliest of his cases is some '*magnus ludus de quodam homine salvatico*', recorded as having taken place in Padua in 1208. Only occasionally do historical records go beyond a bare reference to the fact that such a scene was included within the event and provide further descriptive details.[5] Sometimes the display would have taken the form of *tableaux vivants*, without implying much movement at all from the impersonators. At other times dance is specifically mentioned. Here one needs to draw a logical distinction. If dance is the medium by which a performance displays whatever allegorical message, everything and everyone will in that case be shown as dancing (nations as well as elements or virtues), without this implying any specific cultural association with dance. Dancing actors will then represent people who in reality walk or do anything else. Thus, in the early modern tradition of court ballet and opera, the habit of representing and parading different nations would automatically have shown America (and any other continent or country) in some processional way, without this meaning that everyone in those places always moved with the same demeanour.[6] But some cases give the distinct impression that savages are specifically represented *as* dancing, as if this were a specific cultural attribute.

One of the best-known instances has come down to history as the *bal des ardents*. It is reported by a variety of sources, including Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*,[7] a text through which the episode also became the subject of some lively fifteenth-century illuminations. I will quote some passages from one of the many subsequent writers who retold the story, the sixteenth-century Catholic historian and essayist Guillaume Paradin. One Candlemas in the 1390s the king of France, Charles VI, was ill *[la santé…] grandement alterée par une humeur mélancholique*. To cheer him up and help him recover, *un gentil-homme de sa chambre*, his favourite, sets up some entertainment: *une mommerie, et danse d'hommes saulvages*. The king himself decides to perform in it, together with some other young aristocrats of his entourage. In order to appear wild, they cover themselves with hairy costumes made of linen, attached to their clothes with pitch to make them look *tous nudz comme saulvages*. Since they are aware that the material of their disguise was highly flammable, instructions are given for all spectators and torches to be kept a safe distance from the performers. When they enter the room dancing the king is pulling a rope, to which his friends are tied. Then Charles is distracted by the sight of women, and abandons the group to court

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[5] A. William Smith, 'Los danzantes hombres salvajes del Renacimiento', in Francesc Massip (ed.), *Formes teatrals de la tradició medieval* (Barcelona, 1996), pp. 485–92.

[6] See also Johan Verbeckmoes, 'The imaginative recreation of overseas cultures in western European pageants in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries', in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 4, *Forging European Identities*, ed. H. Roodenburg (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 361–80.

[7] *Oeuvres de Froissart. Croniques*, ed. Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1867–1877; repr. Osnabrück, 1967) vol. 15, pp. 84–92.

them. The public, attracted by the show, come closer, until their torches touch the unfortunate 'savages', whose clothes catch fire and burn them to death.

Guillaume Paradin devotes to the *bal* a chapter within his moral tract on dance, as an instructive example. In spite of the context of his discourse, which would prepare the reader for a consequent *de te fabula narratur* (if you dance like a savage you will burn to death), the message Paradin draws from this particular anecdote is wholly political. For a start, *Dieu montra bien que les roys luy sont grandement pour recommandés* (God indeed spared the king's life); moreover, *la nuict est un tres-mauvais counseillier* (it happened at midnight, in one of the Paris palaces); and it was folly on the part of those courtiers to put the life of their sovereign in such danger – not what subjects with easy access to their prince should do.[8] Perhaps in the author's opinion the object of that festive representation deserved little comment, being patently unsuitable, or else it was not itself morally problematic.

A more specific practice connected with *mommeries* like the unfortunate one in Paris is the tradition of the *moresca*, or 'morris dance'. I do not enter here into its complex and disputed history or its specific elements and associations, such as the sword dance or the Crusades. But it may be worth mentioning that the Italian *moresca* made such frequent appearances on the medieval stage that it became a synonym for a mimetic dance performance, where a plot is put on stage. In the present context, it also matters that such a familiar experience for the viewing public associated choreographed stories with the exotic, in the form of a Moor.

Generally speaking, the reasons for and the implications of such cultural expectations are fairly obvious. They perhaps need some clarification here because they involve a specific notion of dance – one that was only part of a much more complex kaleidoscope of meanings within the western tradition. To imagine an individual – or, more relevantly, a group of people – possessing a lesser degree of civility clearly includes imagining them at some lower stage within a continuum that started from the animal world; or else from an original condition and, at the same time, from infancy (for the constant overlapping between conceptions of the development of the individual and of the species). Regardless of whether the comparison was between different stages in history or between some synchronically existing cultures, the hierarchical pattern was clear; and so were the associations between the various ways by which people could appear inferior to the dominant standards.

Father Lafitau's example of a comparison between Native Americans and ancient Europeans – not a wholly negative one if one considers the shared respect for the ancient civilization – is only the best-known example of a practice which was widespread throughout the centuries.[9] Whatever the case, someone less

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[8] Guillaume Paradin, *Le Blason des danses* (Beaujeu, 1556; repr. Paris, 1830), pp. 58–64.

[9] Joseph-François Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times*, ed. and trans. W.N. Fenton and E.L. Moore (2 vols, Toronto,

than civilized was someone who did not display correct posture and demeanour – consciously and significantly areas of intensive campaigns of acculturation by both educationalists and writers of etiquette manuals (again, the young and those not well born or bred are the groups that need physical re-education). It is natural therefore to think of people, prior to undergoing such programmes, as moving in an uncontrolled manner, too swiftly and heavily; this was simply the outward expression of their moral disorder, or of their unbalanced complexion. This applies equally to American natives or to European peasants and villagers, and the early modern elite was well aware of making such a correspondence. Jesuit missionaries repeatedly called the European countryside 'our own Indies'.[10]

Although the dancing peasant and the dancing savage were two different stereotypes, they had obvious points of contact, both of them opposing, almost by definition, the bodily constitution, demeanour and manners that defined the civilized city dweller. Thus, there may have been some mutual influence and overlap between the two. The frequent caricature of the dancing peasant within the imagery of the northern Renaissance provides some good material in that context – although, as often the case with satire, its cultural meanings prove rather elusive.[11] That stereotype also offered an opportunity for masque and disguise, and during the late Renaissance period it was not uncommon for urban parties to dance while dressed as peasants.[12]

The way the American experience offered, in return, models by which to judge European behaviour is exemplified by a passage which Ehrenreich cites from Mona Ozouf's *Festivals and the French Revolution*. While rioting peasants in revolutionary France combined ritualized violence with public rejoicing – by marching in procession to the local chateau, led by a municipal drummer, or dancing around a bonfire of church pews – the 'enlightened' nobles saw all this as collective madness, and drew comparisons with a variety of available stereotypes:

> 'They are like madmen who ought to be tied up, or rather like bacchantes,' said the mayor of Leguillac. 'They danced around like Hurons and Iroquois,' remarked the astonished seigneur de Montbrun.[13]

1974–1977). I will return to this work at the end of the chapter.

[10] Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza* (Turin, 1996), pp. 551–99.

[11] Hans-Joachim Raupp, *Bauernsatiren. Entstehung und Entwicklung des bäuerlichen Genres in der deutschen und niederländischen Kunst ca. 1470–1570* (Niederzier, 1986).

[12] Cordula Schumann, 'Court, city and countryside: Jan Brueghel's Peasant Weddings as images of social unity under Archducal Sovereignty', in Luc Duerloo and Werner Thomas (eds), *Albert & Isabella. 1598–1621* (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 151–60.

[13] Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, trans. A. Sheridan (Cambridge, MA, 1988), p. 236 (quoting archival documents); cited by Ehrenreich, *Dancing in the Streets*, p. 110.

If I said that all this implies a specific notion of dance it is because only some types of dance can be reasonably perceived as unruly movement. At the opposite end of the spectrum we have courtly dance as the most self-conscious and elaborate set of postures and demeanours, practised to acquire good manners and social respectability and publicly displayed as a symbol of these and many other values. Thus, the expected dancing savage will not just be dancing, but rather dancing *savagely*, which is a culturally specific way of moving (as well as spending one's time and energy).

One further component of the culture of explorers and conquerors that perhaps should be kept in mind is a traditional association of people from different parts of the world, as well as from different parts of Europe, with varying bodily constitutions and ways of moving. At the heart of this set of commonplaces and ethnic stereotypes was the kind of ecological determinism that had its roots in the *Corpus Hippocraticum* and could still find significant expression within Bodin's *République* (V, 1).[14] This combination of clichés added up to a rather confusing theory which assigned more or less sober behaviour sometimes as one moved along an east–west line, and sometimes along a north–south one.[15]

I will now review some travel literature from the age of European expansion and identify what forms of cultural practice are recorded and with what set of connotations and meanings they are associated. Given the fact that dance is a multifaceted concept that can be applied to describe a variety of situations, it is inevitable that its associations are also diverse. From the sources I have analysed, it does not appear to have been the subject of any coherent strategy of interpretation on the part of European writers. What we have, above all, are statements of its frequency among various native peoples. Furthermore, descriptions tend to include such elements as nakedness in combination with drinking or smoking. None of this, however, comes *per se* with strongly negative connotations, which depend on the discursive strategy of individual writers rather than being strictly identified with the social practice described.

Two aspects of early ethnographic descriptions deserve special attention, since they seem to convey the most significant sets of value-loaded connotations. These are the positioning of the dances observed within the spectrum of orderly versus disorderly behaviour; and the relation the writers establish between dance and ritual. On the latter, while some authors may have had individual agendas, we will suggest the pattern of a possible historical trend.

The literature is not always generous in offering us musical or choreographic details. But a few texts do develop the topic significantly. And even the standard passing reference to the fact that the people observed made music and danced

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[14] Jean Bodin, *Les six livres de la république*, ed. C. Frémont, M.-D. Couzinet and H. Rochais (Paris, 1986), vol. 5, pp. 7–57.

[15] See Clarence J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1967), especially ch. 9.

has its relevance. It is often mentioned in relation to the New World – both by English travellers to North America and by Iberians journeying further south. A number of statements suggest the frequency of its observation or the significant role that dance appeared to play within native cultural and daily life. For example Peter Martyr of Anghiera – in his *Decades* (one of the earliest and most influential descriptions of the New World, written in Spain from the testimony of Columbus and others) – observed of the Tainos of Hispaniola that:

> They exercise them selves muche in daunceyng, wherein they are very actyve, and of greater agilitie than our men, by reason they geve them selves to nothyng so much, and are not hyndered with apparell, which is also the cause of theyr swiftnesse of foote.[16]

I introduce this passage with the intention of pointing attention to the phrase concerning the dominant role of dance in daily life (the Latin original reads 'nulli alteri rei magis invigilant', and the Italian translation 'gran parte del tempo non spendono in altro che in ballare').[17] However, it is impossible to read this without noticing that the chronicler is willing and able to appreciate the natives' skill, even with a specific intercultural comparison with their European counterpart. Furthermore, Martyr gave the frequency of their practice as one of two reasons for their agility – the other being nakedness. Here this is treated non-judgementally, as if it was perfectly natural, in order to move around more effectively, simply to take your clothes off. (Obviously nakedness there was not functional, and natives did not wear clothes in the first place.) But now, after French courtiers pretending to be naked in order to impersonate dancing savages, we encounter actual savages dancing naked.

The game of intercultural dressing and undressing reaches full circle if we move to another writer, Gonzálo Fernández de Oviedo, this time a real traveller. For over 20 years he was military governor of the fortress of Santo Domingo, and had extensive knowledge of Central America. The part of his *Historia natural y general de las Indias* concerning Nicaragua (published only in the nineteenth century) contains, among others, a description of one particular *mitote* at which he was present. *Mitote* was the name given in Mexico and the surrounding area to what Oviedo considers to be the same cultural form as the Caribbean *areito* – that is, a narrative show based on dance and song. On that occasion only men danced (a feature pointed out recently), some of them disguised as women. They were all naked, but had clothes painted on their bodies. Oviedo comments that

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[16] Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *The History of Travayle in the West Indies, and other countreys*, gathered by R. Eden, augmented by R. Willes (London, 1577; repr. Delmar, 1992), fol. 139[*rectius* 131]v.

[17] Petrus Martyr ab Angleria, *Decades* (Alcalá, 1530; repr. Graz, 1966), fol. 48v; *Sommario dell'istoria dell'Indie occidentali del signor don Pietro Martire*, in Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni e viaggi*, ed. M. Milanesi (6 vols, Turin, 1978–1988), vol. 5. pp. 200–201.

this masking made them look dressed as well as *gentiles soldados alemanos o tudescos*.[18] This does not necessarily imply that they wanted to *look* European – early in the sixteenth century they would have had limited opportunity to meet any. But it is amusing to observe that dance is the practice that makes Europeans disguise themselves in order to appear naked while, conversely, Native Americans pretend to be dressed.

D'Anghiera's quotation serves as an example of European writing which emphasized the frequency of native dancing. This could also take the form of observations on the importance and function that, in the observer's perception, dance played in American culture. William Strachey's *Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* includes a note on both frequency and importance: 'As for their dauncing the sport seemes unto them, and the use almost as frequent and necessary as their meat and drinck in which they consume much tyme, and for which they appoint many and often meetings.'[19] He also remarks on meaning: 'when any of our people repayred unto their townes, the Indians would not thinck they had expressed their welcome unto them sufficiently untill they had shewed them a daunce'.[20]

Coming from the area documented in John White's watercolours, this passage (and subsequent description) belongs to one of the best-preserved episodes of intercultural encounter.[21] What I intended to point out, though, is that it mentions welcoming visitors as a specific, deliberate and required function of dance. This is not only noticed by other travellers, but is also part of a two-way trade between Europeans and Native Americans. The meaning and connotations of dance are not always the same; it is not uncommon for both Americans and Europeans, on their arrival at a new site, to make music and dance to show goodwill. It is as if there was an unwritten, shared repertoire of gesture, according to which one danced in order to say 'hello' and display peaceful intent.[22] However, a passage from the

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[18] Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia natural y general de las Indias*, ed. J. Pérez de Tudela Bueso (Biblioteca de autores Españoles. Continuación, 120) (Madrid, 1959), vol. 4, pp. 413–21, at p. 413; *Singularités du Nicaragua de Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1529): le livre XLII de l'*Historia general y natural de las Indias, trans. H. Ternaux-Compans, ed. L. Bénat-Tachot (Paris, 2002), pp. 205–24, 312. On the *areito*, see Alessandro Arcangeli, 'Canto, danza e memoria: gli europei alla scoperta dell'areito', *Itineraria*, 6 (2007): 159–73.

[19] William Strachey, *The Historie of Travell unto Virginia Britania (1612)*, ed. L.B. Wright and V. Freund (London, 1953), p. 86.

[20] Ibid.

[21] See Kim Sloan, *A New World: England's First View of America* (London, 2007), especially pp. 110–11, 116–17; Kim Sloan (ed.), *European Visions: American Voices* (London, 2009); http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_publications/online_research_publications/european_visions.aspx.

[22] Marc Lescarbot, a French traveller to Canada, gives a wider list of several reasons why North American Indians dance, which is non judgemental and meant to set Europeans a good example: Marc Lescarbot, *The History of New France*, trans. W.L. Grant (Toronto, 1914), pp. 360–61, 399–406.

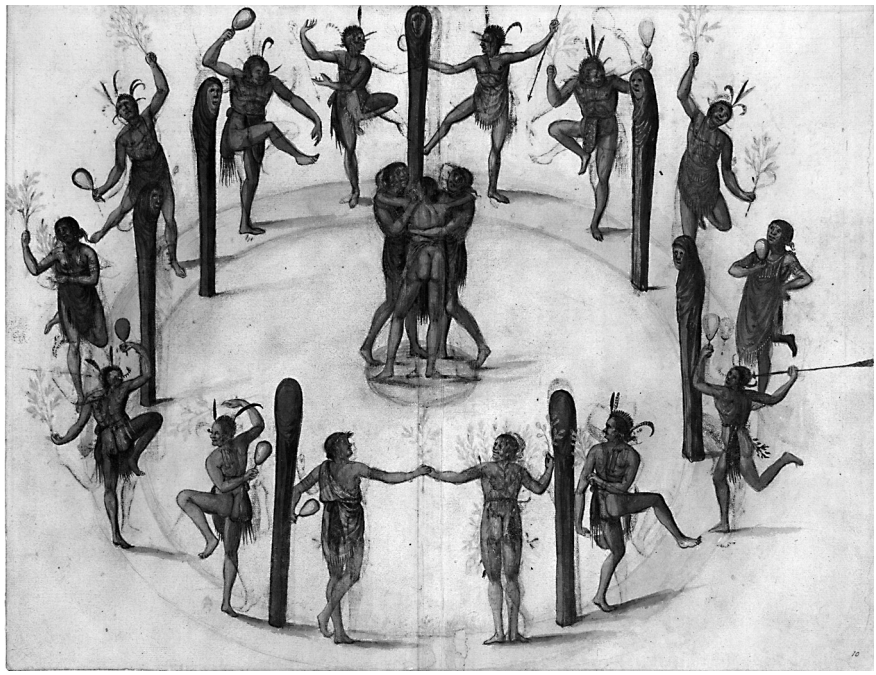

Figure 14.1 John White, *A Festive Dance*, North America, c. 1585–1593. British Museum, PD 1906-5-9-1(10). By permission of the British Museum, London

Letter of Columbus on the Third Voyage, to which Stephen Greenblatt draws our attention, reminds us that such an attribution of meaning to the language of sound and gesture falls short of being universal; when Spaniards tried to make amicable contact with Indians in Trinidad by playing music and dancing, they were met in return by a hail of arrows.[23]

In his watercolours dating from the 1580s, John White recorded more than one instance of North American Indian dancing, for example as detail in his depiction of the town of Secotan. This scene reproduces the natives' 'ceremony during their prayers' around posts carved with faces – possibly a corn festival. Indeed a festive dance is the specific subject of another well-known watercolour in the series (Figure 14.1). It was apparently attended by people from neighbouring towns. Men and women sang and danced, using strange gestures and shaking arrows and pumpkin rattles. Many figures seem to be carrying branches of tobacco leaves, and have tobacco pouches at their belts; there are heads carved on poles; and the circular form of the dance might have reminded English observers of Maypole

[23] Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 90–91.

dancing. The performance was most likely tiring, as a similar scene within the village shows some participants resting outside the circle.

Over the following decades Englishmen in Virginia witnessed comparable ritual dancing almost every evening. Through Theodor de Bry's successful series of engravings these images played a significant role in constructing and spreading a standard European way of figuring North American Indians dances, a visual counterpart to verbal stereotypes.[24] Were they the vehicle for any particular message? Peter Burke has suggested that a colonial agenda is at work in White's drawings. The artist-reporter was there to record what was being discovered, but he did not do so with an innocent eye, without expressing a point of view. White 'was personally involved in the colonization of Virginia and may have tried to give a good impression of the place by omitting scenes of nakedness, human sacrifice and whatever might have shocked potential settlers'.[25]

When introducing natives as dancing, European sources often drew comparisons with their own, familiar practice. These could also appear in the form of praise for the 'good savage's' behaviour set against the problems of civilization – as in the case of the French Capuchin Claude d'Abbeville and his idealization of the Tupi of Brazil. This is a particularly striking example of positive image, considering it comes from an area where Europeans had observed ritual cannibalism, and music and dance associated with it.[26]

The examples given so far are not particularly stereotypical in confirming European expectations of the indecent characteristics of native dancing. There is no shortage of such statements. Even an acknowledgement of the welcoming nature of such an event could appear together with very negative details, as in the report of another traveller to Virginia, George Percy (1607):

> After they had feasted us, they shewed us, in welcome, their manner of dancing, which was in this fashion: one of the savages standing in the midst singing, beating one hand against another, all the rest dancing about him, shouting, howling, and stamping against the ground, with many anticke tricks and faces, making noise like so many wolves or devils.[27]

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[24] See Michiel van Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas Worlds in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590–1634)* (Leiden, 2008).

[25] Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London, 2001), pp. 18–19.

[26] Claude d'Abbeville, *Histoire de la mission des peres capucins en l'isle de Maragnan* (Paris, 1614; repr. Graz, 1963), fols 299r–301r; cf. 299v: 'les danses ne sont si dissoluës entre ces barbares comme elles sont entre les Chrestiens' (with details).

[27] George Percy, 'Discourse', in P.L. Barbour (ed.), *The Jamestown Voyages under the First Charter 1606–1609* (Cambridge, 1969), vol. 1, p. 136. Cf. also Percy's fragment, ibid., p. 146; Harry Culverwell Porter, *The Inconstant Savage: England and the North American Indian 1500–1660* (London, 1979), p. 283.

Of course, the comparison with devils echoes a long western tradition of associating dance with idolatry and demons, one that the witchcraze of the time had brought even more to general attention.

Ehrenreich's *Dancing in the Streets* argues that the association of ecstatic dance with drunkenness, with any type of drug use, and with unruly sexual behaviour, is ubiquitous in the eyes of critics and reformers in all times and latitudes; but it is in their eyes only, and does not inherently belong to the nature and purpose of that form of social gathering. Inevitably these wide generalizations are of limited heuristic value; nevertheless the author's selection of negative associations made by the observers is consistent with documentation from the age of European expansion.

Spanish writers on Central America and European visitors to Brazil sometimes noticed the absence of alcoholic drinks, but sometimes stressed their use and abuse and connected it with dancing. The same is true for the smoking of tobacco. As for sex, comments once again range from the acknowledgement of purity and control to the denunciation of debauchery. Perhaps attempts at generalization have gone too far, and one can only say something meaningful in relation to specific texts and contexts.

There is one further connection, though, which we have only mentioned in passing, and should be addressed more directly: the link between dance and religious ritual. Here too Ehrenreich makes a general point (the process of secularization that runs from Dionysus to Carnival) as well as specific comments on the meanings (religious and/or recreational) that either practitioners or critics could recognize in a number of historical cases. The struggle over such interpretations is evident throughout early modern sources; and, in the New World, the most hostile critics could find rich opportunities to link dance not only with paganism, but explicitly with human sacrifice and cannibalism. It will not surprise us to hear that, early in the seventeenth century, a Huguenot essayist writing against dance could use documentation recently brought from the New World, together with a dossier on the witches' sabbath, to support a comprehensive condemnation of the evils of dance.[28]

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[28] Jean Boiseul, *Traitté contre les danses* (La Rochelle, 1606), pp. 14–15. On the case of Brazil, questioning the alleged connection between dance and cannibalism, with particular reference to iconography: Ernst van den Boogaart, 'La danza de los Tapuya', in José Manuel Santos Pérez and George F. Cabral de Souza (eds), *El desafío holandés al dominio ibérico en Brasil en el siglo XVII* (Salamanca, 2006), pp. 178–201; Joan Pau Rubiés, 'Imagen mental e imagen artística en la rapresentación de los pueblos no europeos: Salvajes y civilizados, 1500–1650', in Joan Lluís Palos (ed.), *La História Imaginada. La construcción visual del pasado y los usos políticos de las imágenes en la Europa Moderna* (Madrid, 2008), pp. 327–57. On 'musicoanthropophagy': Rogério Budasz, 'Of Cannibals and the Recycling of Otherness', *Music & Letters*, 87 (2006): 1–15; Gary Tomlinson, *The Singing of the New World: Indigenous Voice in the Era of European Contact* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 93–123.

However, this was not the only discursive strategy in use, and between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries European writers turned to a new agenda. While the first accounts had ordinarily emphasized the ritual element, by depicting in lurid, idolatrous terms what might have been a more innocent sort of social gathering, a new tendency emerged to do the opposite – presenting religion as merely a mask worn by natives (African and American alike). On this view they only pretended to be worshipping; what they really were up to was simply having fun. Such strategy is noticeably at work in some sources relating to Africa, which also offer an opportunity to follow the early history of stereotypes concerning the Black, and to bridge Africa and America by tracing the course of the literature produced by Catholic missionaries.

With the variety of its civilizations and the growth of cultural encounters, particularly in the wake of Portuguese expansion, Africa was another obvious continent offering Europeans the opportunity to describe exotic customs and assess the natives' way of life. The Kingdom of Congo had been known and exposed to Christianization since the fifteenth century. In the late sixteenth century it was also the subject of an account which enjoyed wide European circulation – Duarte Lopes's report, as rewritten by Filippo Pigafetta. The subject of music is touched on when the report introduces the King of Congo's court and its customs. The description gives details mainly of musical instruments, first of all a type which is compared to a lute; together with love songs, it is used when people meet to be merry and celebrate, as on the occasion of weddings. The European observer is particularly impressed by the ability of the players to convey clearly, through their instruments, almost any meaning that could be expressed through words, as if music was used as effective means of communication ('mediante quell'ordigno significano i concetti dell'animo suo e fansi intendere tanto chiaro che quasi ogni cosa la quale con la lingua si puote manifestare, con la mano dichiarano in toccando lo stromento'). Dancing 'in measure' is also mentioned, together with the rhythmic clapping of hands. Court music involves the skilful playing of wind instruments (*flauti e piferi*) and the performance, with gravity and composure, of a kind of morris dance (*moresca*). Rougher is the music played by the common folk ('suonano in più rozza maniera che li cortegiani'), who make use of castanets.[29]

It was only in the course of the following century, however, that the progress of Catholic missionary activity on one hand, and the development of the slave trade on the other, brought closer and regular contact, and with it a deepening of ethnographic interest in local communities. In 1645 the Capuchin Friars Minor established a mission to Congo and Angola, where it lasted for 190 years until 1835. Shortly after the founding of the mission, a narrative of its success was the subject of a report written by the Roman friar Giovanni Francesco, commissioned by and

[29] Duarte Lopes, *Relatione del reame di Congo et delle circonvicine contrade ... Con dissegni vari di geografia, di piante, d'habiti, d'animali, et altro*, ed. F. Pigafetta (Rome, [1591]), p. 69; cf. Filippo Pigafetta, *Relazione del reame di Congo*, ed. G.R. Cardona (Milan, 1978), pp. 163–4.

addressed to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Congregatio de Propaganda fide*). It included a description of the kingdom and its inhabitants, and devoted a chapter to the subject of dance and musical instruments. The tone had changed noticeably from the curiosity and admiration for the exotic that had characterized much previous documentation. When discussing funeral ceremonies, Giovanni Francesco da Roma complained that the natives indulged in lengthy cries and laments, which, from the point of view of the European observer, felt like some sort of noise pollution. Their dances were even worse. They were performed by men and women jumping behind one another in a circle, around a fire if at night, to the sound of two or three drums that made a displeasing noise, amplified by the clapping of hands – a real torment, that could keep one awake all night. The host of the dance was responsible for providing all participants with food and drink; and many of the most prominent people among them were happy to consume much of their wealth in so doing.[30] As we shall see, more than one of these clichés would feature in European perceptions of the nature and customs of African American slaves.

Among the missionaries sent ten years later to replace some of the pioneers was the Bolognese Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi da Montecuccolo. Later, when he returned to Italy, the *Congregatio de Propaganda fide* asked him to write an account of the mission. As well as his own notes, Cavazzi consulted the documentation that was made available to him and attempted a comprehensive history of the regions he had visited, which, in terms of genre, bears some resemblance to the sixteenth-century natural histories of the Indies.[31] His work was published posthumously in Bologna in 1687; it was subsequently reprinted in Milan in 1690 (under the patronage of Cesare Visconti) and translated from the original Italian into German (1694) and French (1732), thus repeating the international success which Lopes and Pigafetta's *Relatione* had already enjoyed. We will return to the French translation, not least because it was the work of a clergyman whose activities and interests spanned the Atlantic.[32] It included

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[30] Giovanni Francesco da Roma, *Breve relatione del successo della missione de frati minori Capuccini del serafico P.S. Francesco al regno del Congo e delle qualita, costumi, e maniere di vivere di quel regno, e suoi habitatori* (Rome, 1648), chap. XI, pp. 81–3 (also repr. Parma, 1649, pp. 115–20). In the words of the Capuchin writer, the fact that drums are played with bare hands rather than sticks is considered aggravating (either aesthetically or by implying an increased level of noise).

[31] On modes of travel writing in the age of European expansion, see Joan Pau Rubiés, *Travellers and Cosmographers: Studies in the History of Early Modern Travel and Ethnology* (Aldershot, 2007).

[32] Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi, *Istorica descrizione de' tre regni Congo, Matamba et Angola situati nell'Etiopia inferiore occidentale e delle missioni apostoliche esercitatevi da religiosi cappuccini*, ed. F. Alamandini (Bologna, 1687; cf. also edn Milan, 1690); Joanne Antonio Cavazzi, *Historische Beschreibung der … drey Königreichen* (Munich, 1694); Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Relation historique de l'Ethiopie occidentale, contenant la description des royaumes de Congo, Angolle et Matamba, traduite de l'italien du p. Cavazzi, et augmentée de*

an account of Matamba, site of the court of Queen Njinga (1582–1663), the adventurous protagonist of a couple of conversions to Catholicism (in a south-west African context complicated by the slave trade and the colonial presence of the Portuguese) – a story in which the Capuchins (and Cavazzi personally) were heavily involved. No doubt they recognized its potential in terms of religious propaganda.[33]

Dance features extensively in the *Istorica descrizione*'s index. In the context of a harsh denial of any significant degree of native civilization, hardly any remark on this topic (or, for that matter, any other) could be flattering. The most specific chapter is devoted to music and dance, and treats the three African kingdoms as a relatively homogeneous cultural world in this respect. Music and dance, as performed by the natives, are 'very much displeasing'. Since they do not offer men and women the opportunity to display any balanced demeanour or agility, they are only used to satisfy a lecherous appetite. Poetry, music and musical instruments involved in local practice are all the object of wholesale aesthetic annihilation by the clerical writer. The only instrument he singles out as producing a 'not displeasing harmony' – the marimba – would produce, in his opinion, a 'most perfect concert' only if played by an excellent hand; the latter, alas, could only conceivably be European. In fact (as a subsequent chapter on trade makes clear), Africans are generally speaking lacking in any skill, and 'rather love being always merry, than ever to occupy themselves with work' (*amano di vivere più tosto sempre allegri ed in festa, che giammai occupati nel travagliare*).[34]

When Cavazzi moves to discuss dances specifically, he insists (as much, or possibly even more than eyewitnesses to the customs of American Indians) on the incredible amount of time and effort that black people invest in practising them. They consume entire days and nights in dancing, tired but never satiated; in it they dissipate their health as well as their Christian spirit, if they ever acquired any. His descriptions include the 'laborious and perpetual turning of men and

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plusieurs relations portugaises des meilleurs auteurs (Paris, 1732); João António Cavazzi de Montecúccolo*, Descrição histórica dos três reinos do Congo, Matamba e Angola*, trans. G.M. de Leguzzano (Lisbon, 1965). See also Graziano Saccardo, *Congo e Angola, con la storia dell'antica missione dei cappuccini*, (3 vols, Venice, 1982–1983), *passim* (s.v. Giovanni Antonio da Montecuccolo, *ad indicem*). The breadth of Cavazzi's work seems to have impressed the Congregation, but its publication was postponed. After Cavazzi's return to Africa (this time as prefect of the mission, 1672–1676), the book was prepared for the press by another Bolognese friar, Fortunato Alamandini. There is some disagreement among specialists on the actual extent of Alamandini's contribution in completing the book and revising it stylistically (cf. Saccardo, *Congo e Angola*, vol. 2, p. 61; Francisco Leite de Faria, 'João António Cavazzi: a su obra e a su vida', in Cavazzi*, Descrição histórica*, pp. xi–lviii, xxxvii–xli).

[33] On Njinga, see Alexander Ives Bortolot, 'Ana Nzinga: Queen of Ndongo', in Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York, 2003); http://www metmuseum.org/toah/, with suggestions for further reading.

[34] Cavazzi, *Istorica descrizione*, pp. 166–9; cf. also 1690 edn, pp. 133–5; Cavazzi, *Historische Beschreibung*, pp. 196–9: 'Von der Music und denen Täntzen der Mohren'.

women in troops' at the sound of responsorial singing (predictably, of 'mostly foul' songs). Cavazzi was in no state to appreciate any skill involved in the natives' practice; however, he remarked that they value dancing in rhythm so much that stepping out of time would bring 'great shame' on an offender. Some dances involved such an obscene repertoire of gesture that the Italian friar avoids giving any details, for fear of 'soiling his page'. This is the case with the highly popular *mampombo* ('wholly unclean and diabolic'): Cavazzi informs the reader only that he had witnessed it and that confessors need to know enough about it to be able to recognize and condemn it. On the other hand, a 'royal ball' (*maquina mafuete*) is executed by Congolese nobility with such gravity and nonchalance that they almost equal Castilians.[35]

Outside the music chapter, *ballo* is a term and notion that occurs frequently within Cavazzi's text, often in relation to sacrifice, ceremonies and 'idolatrous priests'. The implication, however, is not that dance plays an important role in the natives' religious life; rather, that they have progressively abandoned any pretence of performing ritual, and exploit every available opportunity to have fun and celebrate. This is also Cavazzi's interpretation of the lengthy communal dancing that accompanies the healing ritual performed by a local sorcerer (*amoloco*). Even when a group of slaves is depicted as dancing around the corpse of their (black) master, the context of a funeral should not deceive readers and make them think of a mourning ritual; as the Bolognese friar is quick to point out, they are actually rejoicing, in the hope that they may get their hands on part of his inheritance.[36] Drawing on first-hand experience, the author is able to claim that, on the death of friends, black people only simulate grief.

Copper engravings accompanying Cavazzi's text, reproduced and imitated from one edition to another, add an elementary visual depiction of some of the verbal textual contents. The seventeenth-century editor Alamandini found them crude, and added some of his own devising. As well as the merry funeral, Cavazzi's originals include the musical seasoning of a scene of warfare[37] and the representation of solo dancing in a space defined by a mixed orchestra, exemplifying the variety of local instruments (Figure 14.2). The visual aid is not used to display any particular negative characteristic of the practice, neither morally nor aesthetically.

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[35] Cavazzi, *Istorica descrizione*, p. 168. Among the precedents, Pigafetta's rewriting of Duarte Lopes' report also introduced a degree of differentiation between courtly and popular styles of Congolese dancing: Lopes, *Relatione*, p. 69; cf. Pigafetta, *Relazione*, pp. 163–4.

[36] The image – from Cavazzi, *Istorica descrizione* (1687), p. 128 – is reproduced in my *Davide o Salomè? Il dibattito europeo sulla danza nella prima età moderna* (Treviso and Rome, 2000), p. 316.

[37] 'Instrumens de guerre et de musique' are linked to form a single category also in Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Voyage du chevalier Des Marchais en Guinée, isles voisines, et a Cayénne* (Paris, 1730), vol. 2, pp. 245–6. For Alamandini's comment, see his preface to Cavazzi, *Istorica descrizione*.

Figure 14.2 African Music and Dance, from Cavazzi, *Istorica descrizione* (1687 edn), p. 167. By permission of Cambridge University Library

Presumably, that would have been regarded as even more inappropriate than an already consciously self-censored verbal description.

A quarter of a century after the first publication of Cavazzi's work, a new edition – this time in the more portable format of five, pocket-sized volumes – attracted a French-speaking readership. The translator was a Parisian Dominican, Jean-Baptiste Labat (1664–1738). He had spent 13 years as a missionary in the French Caribbean, and subsequently in Rome, collecting material for a multi-volume history of the West Indies (*Nouveau voyage aux isles de l'Amerique*, 1722) and a *Nouvelle relation de l'Afrique occidentale* (1728) prior to the adaptation of Cavazzi's book. Into the Bolognese friar's translation of the text Labat incorporated documentation drawn from Portuguese sources.[38] Through his role in the revision and circulation of texts, Labat has been recognized by twentieth-century scholarship as responsible for transmitting to the modern world key stereotypes of the laziness of black people which had been created by cultural encounters in the age of European expansion. Within such stereotypes, dancing played a significant part – unsurprisingly, if one considers that a special inclination of sub-Saharan peoples to dance is also recorded in Muslim literature from at least

[38] Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Nouveau voyage aux isles de l'Amerique* (6 vols, Paris, 1722); *Nouvelle relation de l'Afrique occidentale* (5 vols, Paris, 1728); Labat, *Relation historique*, vol. 2, pp. 48–56.

the ninth century CE.[39] Since Labat's experiences had put him in contact with the world of African American slaves, his work bridges the Atlantic and carries Cavazzi's image of the black person over the ocean, to suit the community now established in the Caribbean (and there to confront the European vision of native Americans in a sort of triangular trade of cultural clichés).

When Labat's *Nouvelle relation* describes the people who live along the banks of the Niger, he mentions dance as the chief activity with which they like to occupy themselves all the time when young (only switching to conversation when they are older). They never tire of practising it, while any other duty seems unbearable to them. Since their natural inclinations are not corrected when they are young, it will not surprise the reader that they only value pleasure: they avoid work like the plague ('la plus mauvaise chose qui soit au monde') and are driven to grow crops only by the serious threat of starvation. While admitting that they may not mean anything wrong by them, he labels their dances indecent and exhausting. However, tiredness lies only in the eyes of the European observer, for Africans seem to find dancing for four or five hours more relaxing than sleeping.[40]

Further north on the Gulf of Guinea, during the same years, we also owe to Labat the publication of notes from Renaud Des Marchais's visit to the Kingdom of Ouidah (in modern Benin). A chapter on the *moeurs et coutumes* of that land includes the observation of the black people's passion for play (within a European style of classification, distinguishing between *jeu de hazard* and *jeu d'exercice*). It also examines music: 'provided that one can call music or symphony the rough music [*charivari*] they make with their instruments'. A remark that 'one could say that these people are nothing but dancers and singers' is introduced to claim that the natives are resistant to any extended fatiguing work. Their ability to alternate six days of hard labour with a weekend of dancing revels – which the author has witnessed in America, where they dance through the night after having worked in sugar plantations until midnight on Saturdays, and even walked a few miles in case the landlord does not want their parties on his land – brings Labat finally to observe that they must love singing and dancing *bien passionnément*.[41]

The Caribbean experience is central to the agenda of Labat's *Nouveau voyage*. One chapter – belonging to a section of text dated 1698 – is devoted to the subject of the black slaves who live in the French islands, providing the reader with information on how to buy, treat and instruct them. It also provides information about their religion, customs and dances. It will come as little surprise to find, under the headline 'blacks love dancing', that 'dance is their favourite passion; I do not believe that there are any other people in the world more attached to it'.

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[39] William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans: White Response to Blacks, 1530–1880* (Bloomington, 1980), p. 23. For some examples of texts by Islamic scholars, with varying connotations, see Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Worlds* (New York, 2006), pp. 143, 144, 147.

[40] Labat, *Nouvelle relation*, vol. 2, pp. 277, 297, 303.

[41] Labat, *Voyage du chevalier Des Marchais*, vol. 2, ch. VII, especially pp. 258–9.

As the author will repeat in the *Voyage du chevalier Des Marchais*, here we are told of the effort the slaves are prepared to make in order to go to a dancing venue. Labat also gives further detail on the dance forms in fashion. The most popular is the *calenda*, which comes from the Gulf of Guinea (probably the Kingdom of Arda). The Spaniards have learned it from the slaves, and perform it in the same way throughout America. Its postures and movements are highly indecent. Conscientious masters try to forbid it to their slaves, but that is easier said than done. They like it so much that even children who are hardly able to stand try to imitate their parents, and would spend entire days in it. As the author comments, 'it looks as if they have been dancing it in their mothers' wombs'. Encircled by spectators and drummers, one dancer improvising a song, the rest chanting a refrain and clapping hands, the dancers form two parallel lines. They jump, spin, move apart and back together, and periodically men and women shamelessly bump each other with their thighs, and kiss.

There are also a variety of different dance forms, imported to America from other African regions. Some are more decent, but less entertaining; none matches the popularity of the *calenda*. Mindful of classical observations, Labat comments, however, that 'taste varies, and one is not entitled to make judgement'. One method by which colonialists have tried to tempt slaves away from these inappropriate habits is teaching them French dance forms ('comme le menuet, la courante, le passepied et autres, aussibien que les branles et danses rondes'), not without success. On the whole, control seems to be the preferred policy, rather than crude repression. With the exception of the unacceptable *calenda*, Labat considers it better to keep one's slaves in at weekends and allow them to celebrate, rather than risk letting them leave the plantation to gather with others, and perhaps riot or steal.[42]

By the time Labat's work went to press, Father Lafitau had published his well-known comparison between the customs of the ancient world and those of North American Indians; he had become familiar with the latter after a long period as a missionary in Canada. As has been pointed out, his agenda was dictated by his own time and ideology.[43] Nevertheless, his comparative method did not come from nowhere: it was rooted in two centuries of proto-ethnographic literature and had been tested in a variety of contexts.

Lafitau's dance references deserve at least a short description and comment, particularly since they seem to confirm some of the features we have already

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[42] Labat, *Nouveau voyage*, part IV, ch. VII (The Hague, 1724, vol. 2, pp. 51–4).

[43] Cf. Sabine McCormack, 'Limits of Understanding: Perceptions of Greco-Roman and Amerindian paganism in Early Modern Europe', in Karen Ordahl Kupperman (ed.), *America in European Consciousness, 1493–1750* (Chapel Hill, 1995), pp. 79–129; Alfonso M. Iacono, 'The American Indians and the Ancients of Europe: The idea of comparison and the construction of historical time in the 18th century', in W. Haase and M. Reinhold (eds), *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, vol. 1, *European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition* (Berlin, 1994), pp. 658–81.

observed in the literature that preceded him. Two chapters of his work contain most of such references: the ones he devotes to religion and political government. As regards religion, the French Jesuit observes that

> The sacrifice and feast were followed by song and military dances. At first it will seem surprising that things which appear profane to us such as the dance and so far from the spirit of religion as warfare, have been united almost inseparably with the solemnity of the sacrifices.[44]

Here we are expected to be surprised because we belong to a culture in which dance is profane and shares with warfare a clear distance from the spirit of religion. However, Lafitau presents our sensitivity on the matter as the result of a historical process – the secularization of dance and a new distinction between areas of social practice previously connected; and he demonstrates this by reminding his reader of ancient Western examples of similar connections, especially (the ubiquitous) 'David dancing before the ark'. Further comparisons with classical themes are made when dance is shown to be the main expression of the happiness of souls in the Iroquois 'heaven'.[45]

Lafitau's chapter on government includes the illustration and description of *yenonyahkwen*, the circular dance of the Iroquois medicine men: 'To see them, one would say that they are a troupe of mad and frenzied people' (*une troupe des furieux et de frénétiques*); and of *athonront*, a form of dance the author assimilates with the most famous war-dance from antiquity, the Greek pyrrhic. A variety of the latter is admired – as we saw with Oviedo for the Mexican *mitote* and the Caribbean *areito* – since through it the Iroquois give a skilful pantomimic representation of their military expeditions. Lafitau takes this opportunity to retell a story from Lucian's dialogue on dance (*De saltatione*):

> We can judge of the skill with which these pantomimes were performed by the bizarre taste of a prince of Pontus who, on taking leave of a Roman emperor, asked him, in preference to all the presents offered him, for one of these pantomimes whose action pleased him so much that he thought that, without the aid of any other interpreter, he could make himself understood by the barbarous nations belonging to his domain whose language he did not even know.[46]

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[44] Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians*, vol. 1, p. 141. On dance in Lafitau, see my *Davide o Salomè*, pp. 289–93.

[45] Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians*, vol. 1, pp. 257–8.

[46] Ibid., p. 321. In eighteenth-century European dance aesthetics, Lucian's text was used as the main historical and theoretical justification for an evolution of the art towards pantomimic ballet – but this is another story. It may also be worth remarking that both critics in dance aesthetics and early ethnographers seem to have missed or ignored the satirical element in Lucian's writing.

Thus once again the topos of music and dance as forms of non-verbal language and a cross-cultural means of communication – which the Columbian exchange had revealed to be at least partly myth, and an assumption leading to potential misunderstandings – was reinforced via a further circular reference connecting European antiquity with the American present.

If we return now to my initial question on European expectations and New World experiences, it is safe to say that, while the Atlantic encounter built on pre-existing cultural topoi on nature and culture, disorder and control, the actual witnessing and literary reporting of a variety of forms of social practice – which could fairly easily fit under the category of dance – led to a stronger association between a low level of civilization, a low work ethic and pleasure and time being devoted to making music and dance. If the latter could include some admiration for the energy and skills involved, it was nonetheless reinforcing an already clear distinction between European value systems and the nature and customs of the Other.

Chapter 15

Representation in Practice: The Myth of Venice and the British Protectorate in the Ionian Islands (1801–1864)

Maria Fusaro

When approaching a complex political issue, William Gladstone's characteristic *modus operandi* frequently involved first analysing documents in detail, then corresponding with experts and then usually writing a reflective article or volume on the subject. But, in the words of Robert Holland and Diana Markides, on his return to Britain after his mission as Extraordinary High Commissioner in 1859, 'the Ionian Islands were never to merit the book, or even the review; they were, after all, mere dots on a map'.[1] Certainly their strategic importance for Britain's interests in the Mediterranean, which had made them highly desirable at the beginning of that century, was by the 1850s waning; and for a rising politician such as Gladstone there were more pressing matters that required his attention. There is however another account of this episode, according to which 'his three massive and elaborate reports, printed for the use of the Cabinet, faded into obscurity. It was felt that, in the circumstances of the Italian war, it would be inexpedient to lay documents before parliament which bore on the question of the rights of subject people within the jurisdiction of the public law of Europe'.[2] The issue of empire within Europe was indeed a most delicate one.

Whichever of these two interpretations one agrees with, the history of the Ionian Islands, as part of the Venetian and then British empires before their union with the Greek state (1864), is a story well worth telling, as their long-term involvement with empires makes them an ideal laboratory in which to analyse crucial issues regarding governance, cultural encounters and misunderstandings.

As a social and economic historian, I feel somewhat of an interloper among the cultural historians of this volume, especially in light of Roger Chartier's definition: 'unlike economic or social historians, who reconstitute what was, the historian of mentalities or ideas seeks not the real but the ways in which people considered

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[1] R. Holland and D. Markides, *The British and the Hellenes: Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1850–1960* (Oxford, 2006), p. 33.

[2] R. Shannon, *Gladstone*, vol. 1: *1809–1865* (London, 1982), p. 373.

and transposed reality'.[3] Therefore my goal here is to attempt to reconcile such seemingly distant disciplinary positions; in the words of Nancy Koehn, I will try to disturb 'the apartheid that has tended to separate economic history from political, social and cultural history'.[4] This chapter is an attempt to bridge these methodological and substantive differences through the analysis of a tripartite cultural encounter – Venice, Greece, Britain – seen under the rubric of 'the cultural history of governance'. In doing this I am also taking up Peter Burke's advice that 'encounters and interactions should therefore join the practices and representations which Chartier has described as the principal object of the new cultural history. After all, as Edward Said recently remarked, "the history of all cultures is the history of cultural borrowing"'.[5] In fact I believe there is scope for a new approach to the concept of 'empire', an approach that might start to investigate continuities in the cultural practices and modalities of governance. By analysing the long-term 'Ionian' interaction between Venetians, English and Greeks, I will show how some of the practical lessons of the medieval and early modern Venetian imperial experience affected the British daily administration of the Ionian Protectorate (1815–1864), at the same time highlighting the role that cultural misunderstanding played in this. As has been argued, 'the new colonialism of the nineteenth century [was] certainly built on the experience of rule and the construction of cultural differences of the old empires'.[6]

This chapter will begin by sketching out why and how the late-medieval and early modern Venetian empire is comparable to some extent with the nineteenth-century British empire, and how the 'myth of Venice' is connected with the 'imperial' experience of the Republic. It will then outline the Anglo-Ionian relationship between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, and how it evolved from a successful economic partnership during the period of Venetian domination to a failed political relationship during the period of the British Protectorate. It is my contention that the reasons for this failure are partly to be found in the cultural misunderstandings between the British and the Ionians. Thus I will challenge the standard historical narratives that have ignored the importance of Venetian cultural heritage in studying the nineteenth-century history of the Ionian Islands, and I will argue instead for its crucial importance in the historical development of these issues. The chapter will then conclude with a brief description of how the British attempt at solving the growing problems of the Islands, by sanctioning the

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[3] R. Chartier, *Cultural History. Between Practices and Representations* (London, 1988), p. 43.

[4] N.F. Koehn, *The Power of Commerce: Economy and Governance in the First British Empire* (Ithaca and London, 1994), p. xi; see also A. Torre, 'I percorsi della pratica: 1966–1995', *Quaderni Storici*, 90 (1995): 799–829.

[5] P. Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (London, 1997), p. 203.

[6] F. Cooper and A.L. Stoler, 'Between Metropole and Colony. Rethinking a Research Agenda', in Cooper and Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, 1997), pp. 1–56, p. 2.

publication and implementation of the old Venetian municipal legislation in the 1840s, can be seen as a posthumous homage to the 'legislative wisdom' of the Republic: the real cornerstone of the 'myth of Venice'.

Comparing Empires

'Any effort to compare different imperial systems – or even different parts of a single empire – raises questions about what it is we should be comparing: similar chronologies across different colonial contexts, or disparate chronologies but similar patterns and rhythms of rule?'[7] This chapter posits that the medieval and early modern Venetian empire was comparable to the nineteenth-century British empire. In doing so it takes up the stimulating observation of Robert Bartlett, who highlighted how the structure of the medieval Italian colonial empires has some similarities to that of the nineteenth-century British empire: 'a series of islands and headlands dotted along the main commercial pathways, linking the metropolis to distant markets'.[8] If the geographical scale of the two empires was certainly different, once the technological gap between the Venetian medieval empire and the modern British one is taken into account, the times of transmission of information and goods become comparable, and consequently their practical problems of governance also become comparable. Practical governance is a good field for such long-term comparisons, but also a tricky one as under the appearance of the same phenomena can lie very different ones. Still, it is striking how Venice in the medieval and early modern period, and Britain in the early nineteenth century, controlled empires with similar characteristics; not only were both based on the control of the sea and sea-lanes through the possession of scattered bases,[9] they were also governed by their overlords with a massive dose of pragmatism, exemplified through a huge variety of different governance structures (colonies, dependencies, dominions, protectorates).[10] More crucially, Venice and Britain

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[7] Ibid., p. 29; a similar question is raised by N. Glayser, 'Networking: Trade and Exchange in the Eighteenth Century British Empire', *The Historical Journal*, 47 (2004): 451–76, p. 453.

[8] R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (Princeton, 1993), pp. 188–9.

[9] A similar comparative argument between Britain and Venice is now emerging in relation to naval history, as in Andrew Lambert's Institute of Historical Research and National Maritime Museum Empire Lecture in London (16 October 2008): '"Now is come a darker day": Britain, Venice and the Meaning of Sea Power'.

[10] 'Developments in Britain's position as a colonial ruler stimulated constitutional and political inventiveness among both rulers and ruled, and gave rise to a growing variety of governmental institutions and practice at home and abroad': A. Porter, 'Introduction: Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth Century', in Porter (ed.), *The Nineteenth Century*, vol. III, *The Oxford History of the British Empire* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 1–28, p. 1.

were both states (and consequently empires) in which the rule of law was taken to be the load-bearing pillar of the 'constitution' – written or unwritten.[11]

Another important element that encourages this sort of comparative study is the fact that, while in the seventeenth century the English had defined theirs as a 'Protestant' empire, in opposition to the Catholic empire of Spain,[12] by the nineteenth century the British empire had become as multi-religious as the Venetian empire had been since its beginning. This had required a more open attitude towards local beliefs and traditions, forcing the British to attempt to insert themselves into the cultural fabric of the territories they controlled. Attempting to better their relationship with the local populations, British civil and military authorities officially participated in Catholic religious processions in Malta, and in Greek Orthodox ones in the Ionian Islands.[13]

Empire and the Myth of Venice

The history of Venice tends to be dealt with in most of the Anglophone historiography as that of a 'city', or a 'republic' and, more recently, as one of the early modern Italian 'territorial states'; it is far rarer for it to be studied as an 'empire' – the only Italian state that also controlled considerable territories overseas.

After the Fourth Crusade in 1204, Venice had acquired an empire that was more 'commercial' than 'colonial', or as Ugo Tucci described it: 'a state that had its territorial base on the sea, a *regnum aquosum* – a watery kingdom'.[14] During the Middle Ages the Venetian empire in the Levant had been both a symbol of the honour of the Republic, and also for a long time a real and tangible source of economic profit.[15] Moreover, even when Venice's overseas possessions started to shrink under the Ottomans' expansion, becoming an economic liability for the Republic, the imperial dimension of Venice remained an essential element of Venetian political and economic self-perception until the end of the Republic.[16]

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[11] J.P. Greene, 'Empire and Identity from the Glorious Revolution to the American Revolution', in P.J. Marshall (ed.), *The Eighteenth Century*, vol. II, *The Oxford History of the British Empire* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 208–30, pp. 208–10.

[12] 'Even if the Protestantism it represented was less and less unitary', Greene, 'Empire and Identity', p. 214.

[13] Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, p. 18.

[14] U. Tucci, 'La Grecia e l'economia veneziana', in G. Benzoni (ed.), *L'eredità greca e l'ellenismo veneziano* (Florence, 2002), pp. 139–56, p. 142, where he quotes: 'Venetie regnum aquosum dicitur esse' from *Boncompagni Liber de obsidione Ancone*, ed. G.C. Zimolo (Bologna, 1937), p. 14.

[15] B. Arbel, 'Colonie d'Oltremare', in A. Tenenti and U. Tucci (eds), *Storia di Venezia*, vol. V, *Il rinascimento: società ed economia* (Rome, 1996), pp. 947–85, pp. 966–8.

[16] A. Tenenti, 'Il senso dello stato', in A. Tenenti and U. Tucci (eds), *Storia di Venezia*, vol. IV, *Il rinascimento: politica e cultura* (Rome, 1996), pp. 311–44.

From its beginnings there was never a single formula for rule and administration in the *Stato da Mar*; instead there was a dazzling display of governance solutions, something which is frequently overlooked.[17] From the thirteenth to the eighteenth century there were possessions administered through a proper feudal structure, such as Negroponte (1209–1470) and the Archipelago (1207–1566); a proper 'settlers' colony like Crete (1211–1669); a 'plantation colony' like Cyprus (1489–1571); a short-term attempt at building a 'new kingdom' in the Morea (1684–1718); and last but not least the 'hybrid' of the Ionian Islands (Corfu 1386–1797, the other islands 1485–1797) – in a sense a settlers' colony, but with settlers coming from the rest of the Venetian Levant, not from Venice itself.[18] This extremely diverse empire was ruled by Venice through different institutional arrangements, which were devised by paying close attention to local realities and to what was considered in each case to be the most expedient way to administer and rule these distant territories. This system of rule lasted for centuries and the government of the Republic constantly elaborated new administrative solutions. Venice's ruling bodies, throughout its history, remained engaged in continuous dialogue on these matters, and its subject populations were always involved in local administrations. This fostered a constant dialogue between the *Dominante* and its subjects, and had made Venetians very well aware that the implementation *in situ* of the ideology and decisions of the metropolis was a complex exercise in negotiation; as Angelo Basadonna, once Rector of Cephalonia, put it in 1603: 'The laws are passed in Venice, but it is in the Levant that they have to be implemented'.[19]

England and the Myth of Venice

Of all the European states, England was where the 'myth of Venice' had been best received and most thoroughly discussed, to the point that throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it formed part not only of the political, but

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[17] S. McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia, 2000), p. 7.

[18] D. Jacoby, 'The Venetian Presence in the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261): The Challenge of Feudalism and the Byzantine Inheritance', in D. Jacoby, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2001), VI, pp. 141–201, pp. 197, 157; D. Chambers, *The Imperial Age of Venice, 1380–1580* (London, 1970), p. 53; McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, p. 2; A. Stouraiti and M. Infelise (eds), *Venezia e la Guerra di Morea. Guerra, politica e cultura alla fine del Seicento* (Milan, 2005); M. Fusaro, *Uva passa. Una guerra commerciale tra Venezia e l'Inghilterra (1540–1640)* (Venice, 1997); B. Arbel, B. Hamilton and D. Jacoby (eds), *Latin and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London, 1989); M. Balard, *État et Colonization au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance* (Lyon, 1989).

[19] Venice State Archive, *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, busta 836b, file I (papers not numbered), 25 May 1603.

also of the literary culture.[20] I will not discuss this here, as it has already been the subject of thorough investigations.[21] All I want to highlight here is that, by the end of the seventeenth century, the evident economic and social crisis of Venice had started to feed into the 'anti-myth of Venice'.[22] The moral decadence, sexual licence and corrupted political practices of the Republic became, not only in Britain but throughout Europe, the dominant image of a formerly glorious state.[23] It is my contention that specifically at the time when the political myth as an example of 'ideal polity' declined – that is to say when the constitution of the *city* of Venice was considered neither an example to emulate, nor even a viable constitutional solution for England – the Venetian experience of practical governance of its overseas empire started to become relevant for the British empire, which was then moving into a new phase of its history. In this new phase Britain developed an imperial system based on the control of sea-lanes – as Venice's empire had been since its origin. Moreover, it was at this stage that the British empire enacted a series of constitutional arrangements designed to fit different colonies; again, the cornerstone of this policy was the constant stress on the establishment of 'the rule of law'.

The Ionian Islands had been part of the Venetian empire since the end of the fifteenth century, but around the middle of the sixteenth century their economy became dependent upon trade with England. England was in fact the principal market for the staple of the Islands' exported goods: currants. Thanks to the insatiable English demand, currants became the monoculture of the two Ionian islands of Zante and Cephalonia, thus creating an economic dependency which continued unabated until the World War I.[24] The Venetian Republic had not welcomed this development, and from the last quarter of the sixteenth century it

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[20] D.C. McPherson, *Shakespeare, Jonson, and the Myth of Venice* (London and Toronto, 1990).

[21] On this see the bibliographical essays: J. Grubb, 'When Myths Lose Power: Four Decades of Venetian Historiography', *Journal of Modern History*, 58 (1986): 43–94; F. de Vivo, 'The diversity of Venice and her myths in recent historiography', *The Historical Journal*, 47 (2004): 169–77; for the myth's reception in Britain, see J. Eglin, *Venice Transfigured: The Myth of Venice in British Culture, 1660–1797* (London, 2001).

[22] Z.S. Fink, 'Venice and English Political Thought in the Seventeenth Century', *Modern Philology*, 38 (1940): 155–72, p. 172; Eglin, *Venice Transfigured*, p. 170.

[23] P. Del Negro, 'La distribuzione del potere all'interno del patriziato veneziano', in A. Tagliaferri (ed.), *I ceti dirigenti in Italia in età moderna e contemporanea* (Udine, 1984), pp. 311–55; P. Del Negro, 'Venezia allo specchio', *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century*, 191 (1980): 920–26; D. Wootton, 'Ulysses Bound? Venice and the Idea of Liberty from Howell to Hume', in Wootton (ed.), *Republicanism, Liberty and Commercial Society 1649–1776* (Stanford, 1994), pp. 341–67.

[24] Fusaro, *Uva passa*; S. Petmezas, 'Responses to Agricultural Income Crisis in a Southeastern European Economy: Transatlantic Emigration from Greece (1894–1924)', in I. Zilli et al. (eds), *Fra spazio e tempo: studi in onore di Luigi de Rosa* (3 vols, Naples, 1995), vol. 3, pp. 427–87.

had unsuccessfully tried to divert the currants trade to Venice, and to eradicate the English presence from these islands.[25] The Greek subjects of the Republic – both in the Islands and in Venice – had instead welcomed the English and established a strong economic alliance with them, which played a crucial role in facilitating English penetration and settlement in the Mediterranean at large.[26]

The Ionian Islands were therefore where England and Venice had fought for economic supremacy and where they effectively cohabited from the late sixteenth century. At the collapse of the Republic in 1797, the islands entered into a turbulent phase of their history, with France, Russia and Britain fighting for their possession. But the inhabitants of Zante and Cephalonia, well aware of their dependence on the British currants market and even keener to strengthen their economic ties, lobbied constantly for a closer association with Britain, in the hope that this would increase their commercial prospects. When the treaty of Tilsit (1807) assigned the islands instead to France, within a couple of years Zante and Cephalonia simply self-devolved themselves to Britain.[27] Only Corfu remained in French hands until 1815, when all seven Ionian Islands became a British Protectorate. However under the Protectorate, the convergence of economic interests that had for centuries been crucial for the relationship between Britain and the islanders became secondary for the British; what now mattered most to them was the strategic location of the Ionian Islands, which was crucial to British plans for Mediterranean supremacy, as it had been in the past for the Venetians.[28]

The Ionians and the British Protectorate

'Historians have advanced the notion of the 'other' to encapsulate British feelings of contrast between their own 'modern' and 'civilized' society and 'backward' non-European peoples'.[29] But this was a problem not only with 'non-European' people; the evolution of the interaction between the British and Greeks in the Ionian Islands is a most expressive example of colonial encounters, exposing the complexity of cultural misunderstandings with frightening clarity. An empire in the Mediterranean means an empire within Europe. The eternal problem in imperial history of conceptualizing the 'other' assumes its own peculiar complexities if the

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[25] Fusaro, *Uva passa*, *passim*.

[26] M. Fusaro, 'Les Anglais et les Grecs. Un réseau de coopération commerciale en Méditerranée vénitienne', *Annales HSS*, 58 (2003): 605–25.

[27] E. Lunzi, *Della repubblica settinsulare libri due* (Bologna, 1863), p. 239.

[28] Porter, 'Britain and the Empire', p. 10.

[29] P. Burroughs, 'Imperial Institutions and the Government of Empire', in Porter (ed.), *The Nineteenth Century*, pp. 170–97, p. 183. See also A.G. Hopkins, 'Back to the Future: From National History to Imperial History', *Past and Present*, 164 (1999): 198–243, and E. Ho, 'Empire through Diasporic Eyes: A View from the Other Boat', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 46/2 (2004): 210–46, p. 210.

'other' looks like you or, even worse, if this 'other' descends from the universally acknowledged forefathers of Western civilization: the ancient Greeks.[30] While for centuries English and Ionian merchants had happily done business together (against Venetian legislation and interests), with both parties benefiting from this economic partnership, once their relationship was transformed into a 'political' one of 'rulers' and 'ruled', things changed dramatically and rapidly. When classically educated British colonial officers arrived in the Ionian Islands they realized that their idealized vision of Greece was not quite what they were encountering on the ground. For the Philhellenes of Pall Mall this was a real blow; Gladstone's experience as Commissioner Extraordinary in 1858 descended into farce when – very proud of his knowledge of classical Greek language and culture – he 'addressed the Ionian assembly in classical Greek, perfectly orated but incomprehensible to his Italian-speaking audience'.[31]

From the very beginning of the Protectorate, the Ionian population was described and treated as 'barbarians' by their British overlords.[32] And the local ruling class – the same group that had actively lobbied for the British to occupy the islands – quickly changed from a pro-British stance to an increasingly vociferous opposition to the Protectorate. This opposition has so far been analysed by historians only as a manifestation of the growing aspiration to join the newly formed Greek state. However it was the British rulers' attitude towards their Ionian subjects – especially in what the Ionians perceived as the British betrayal

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[30] 'The culture which Europeans, especially in the imperial age, claimed to be uniquely their own' – their 'civilizing gift to the rest of the world' – was in fact Greek in origin; see D.A. Washbrook, 'Orients and Occidents: Colonial Discourse Theory and the Historiography of the British Empire', in Porter (ed.), *The Nineteenth Century*, pp. 596–611, p. 609.

[31] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry on 'William Gladstone', where it is also said in wonderfully patronizing terms that 'Gladstone ran a semi-Ruritanian court on Corfu'. On this episode see also H.C.G. Matthew, *Gladstone 1809–1898* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 165–6. For a 'Greek' perspective on his mission: A. Lefcochilo Dusmani, *La Missione di Sua Signoria Onorevolissima William Ewart Gladstone nelle Isole Ionie* (Corfu, 1869). For Anglo-Greek relations in the Ionian Islands, see also T.W. Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion: Culture, Identity and Power in the British Mediterranean* (Notre Dame, 2002), especially chapter 2: 'European Aborigines and Mediterranean Irish. Identity, Cultural Stereotypes and Colonial Rule', pp. 15–55.

[32] For some examples see: T.T.C. Kendrick, *The Ionian Islands: Manners and Customs ...* (London, 1822); W. Goodison, *A historical and topographical essay upon the Islands of Corfu, Leucadia, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Zante ...* (London, 1822); J. Hennen, *Sketches of the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean: Comprising an Account of Gibraltar, the Ionian Islands and Malta* (London, 1830); G.F. Bowen, *The Ionian Islands under British Protection* (London, 1851); H. Jervis, *History of the Island of Corfu and of the Republic of the Ionian Islands* (London, 1852); J. Dunn Gardner, *The Ionian Islands in Relation to Greece ...* (London, 1859); H. Jervis, *The Ionian Islands During the Present Century* (London, 1863).

of their role as Protectors of the Independent Septinsular Republic, and in matters related to the breaking of the Anglo-Ionian economic partnership – where the real roots of this dissent are to be found. This dissent started at the very beginning of the Protectorate, well before the question of enosis ('union with Greece') entered the fray.

Since the beginning of the Venetian domination, the Ionian Islands' ruling class had been active in local administration, and due to the growing weakness of the Republic's administration in the eighteenth century, had managed to increase its powers in both the local administration and the judiciary. Local councils had *de facto* enjoyed a growing administrative and financial autonomy from Venice and its local representatives.[33] This increasing involvement in local government, paired with close contacts with the Greek diaspora all over Europe, facilitated the development of a peculiar local upper class, which was made up of landowners and of something unique in that region: a commercial bourgeoisie.[34] Centuries of ship-owning tradition had closely connected them, both economically and socially, with the Greek entrepreneurial diaspora that had its centres in Venice, London, Amsterdam, Trieste and Leghorn.[35] This long-standing interaction with Western European culture, politics and economics helped foster and develop a peculiar culture in the Islands, which by the nineteenth century was quite different from that of Ottoman Greece. The centuries-long economic interaction with Britain was cherished by the locals, as most social levels had benefited from the income from the currant trade; for this reason the islanders of Zante and Cephalonia had self-devolved themselves to Britain in 1809, warmly welcoming the establishment of the Protectorate in 1815 in the hope of improving their economic status within the British empire.

The Congress of Vienna had established the 'Free and Independent Septinsular Republic' under the protection of the British Crown, but Ionian independence immediately proved to be merely a fiction. The British governed the Ionian Islands like a proper colony, and the High Commissioner acted like a viceroy.[36] Formalities were of course respected, since they had to pacify the other European powers: 'the Protecting Sovereign was represented by an Officer who, because the

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[33] M. Folin, 'Spunti per una ricerca su amministrazione veneziana e società ionia nella seconda metà del Settecento', in *Studi veneti offerti a Gaetano Cozzi* (Venice, 1992), pp. 333–47.

[34] S. Gekas, *Class Formation in the Ionian Islands during the Period of British Rule, 1814–1864*, LSE working paper (2005), p. 2.

[35] M. Fusaro, 'Coping with Transition. Greek Merchants and Shipowners between Venice and England in the Late Sixteenth Century', in G. Harlaftis et al. (eds), *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History* (London, 2005), pp. 95–123.

[36] F. Lenormant, *La Grèce et les Iles Ioniennes: études de politique et d'histoire contemporaine* (Paris, 1865), p. 206; see also N.G. Moschonàs, 'I partiti e l'idea dell'unità nazionale nel parlamento Ionio', in *Indipendenza e unità nazionale in Italia ed in Grecia* (Florence, 1987), pp. 133–43, p. 134.

Islands were nominally independent, was not styled "Governor" but "Lord High Commissioner"'. Quite tellingly, however, the Commissioner 'answered to the Colonial and not to the Foreign Secretary'.[37] It was a method of rule frequently utilized by Britain, as Chris Bayly has observed: 'these colonial despotisms were characterised by a form of aristocratic military government supporting a viceregal autocracy, by a well-developed imperial style which emphasised hierarchy and racial subordination, and by the patronage of indigenous landed élites'.[38] In this equation, the element that the British never managed properly in the Ionian Islands was paradoxically 'the patronage of local élites', probably due to a deep misunderstanding of their culture and their political and economic aspirations. Thus, from the beginning of the Protectorate this ambiguity poisoned the relationship between the British and the Ionians; what had been for centuries a mutually beneficial economic relationship did not manage to transform itself into a successful political relationship.

Misunderstandings: Cultural, Political, Economic and Social

Culturally, although the British knew very well of course that the Ionians expressed themselves in Italian, they did not appreciate the importance of the persistence of Italian-Venetian culture for the development of literature and poetry; or the influence of Italian political thought both in the islands' internal political affairs and in their intellectual contribution to the development of the Greek state, before, during and after the fight for independence.[39] Interestingly enough, a quick statistical survey of Ionian publications shows that, while in the period 1750–1796 just 38 per cent of the publications in the islands had been in the Italian language, this figure rose to 56 per cent in the period 1797–1815, stabilized at 55 per cent during the Protectorate (1815 to 1840) and shot up to 63 per cent in the period 1841–1847. Only with the 1848 rebellions – and the growth of pro-Greek sentiment in its aftermath – did publications in the Greek language finally achieve pre-eminence (61 per cent in the period 1848–1860).[40] The practical results of

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[37] B. Knox, 'British policy and the Ionian Islands, 1847–1864: Nationalism and Imperial Administration', *The English Historical Review*, 99 (1984): 503–29, p. 505.

[38] C.A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780–1830* (London and New York, 1989), pp. 8–9.

[39] P.M. Kitromilidis, 'Bridges to the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. The Assimilation of Italian Culture as a Problem in Greek Historiography', in C.A. Maltezou and G. Ortalli (eds), *Italia-Grecia: temi e storiografie a confronto* (Venice, 2001), pp. 37–46.

[40] Quantitative data obtained by analysing the figures provided in: É. Legrand, *Bibliographie Ionienne. Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par les Grecs des Sept-Îles ou concernant ces îles, de quinzième siècle à l'année 1900* (2 vols, Paris, 1910); integrating these figures with those in N. Pierres, *Bibliographie Ionienne. Suppléments à la description raisonée des ouvrages publiés par les Grecs des Sept-Îles ou concernant ces*

the long-term connection with Italian culture – literary and political – were still highly visible at the beginning of the twentieth century, when, as William Miller commented, 'Corfu and Zante are still, after nearly 40 years of union with the Hellenic kingdom, in many respects more Italian than Greek … in the laws and customs, in the survival of the Italian language'.[41]

It is, therefore, rather puzzling that historians of the Protectorate have barely looked at the political writings published in Italian by the Ionians; and the historiography on the Protectorate is almost exclusively based on British government official papers, with no attention to the literature produced by the locals at that time. If indeed, as Peter Burke wrote, 'linguistics offer another way of approaching the consequences of cultural encounters',[42] the absence of this material from historical analysis of the Protectorate creates an important distortion in the interpretation of its history. This problem is particularly important in this specific case, as the politically disenfranchised local elite published a considerable number of books and pamphlets, mostly in Italian, in an attempt to publicize the ambiguities and deficiencies of the British Protectorate, to defend their nominal independence and, at the same time, to contribute to the debate on the political development of the islands themselves.[43]

Politically, the British underestimated how deeply the Venetian period had both shaped the expectations of the Ionian elite regarding the extent of their power and authority, and the existence of a strong and long-standing direct line of communication with their overlord. They also overlooked how formative had been

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îles (Athens, 1966), and T.I. Papadopoulou, *Ionian Bibliography* (3 vols, Athens, 1996), vol. 1 (1508–1863) [in Greek].

[41] W. Miller, 'The Ionian Islands under Venetian Rule', *The English Historical Review*, 18 (1903): 209–239, p. 238.

[42] Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History*, p. 210.

[43] Among such books and pamphlets, see: G. Paulini, *Memorie storiche sulla fondazione della Repubblica Ionica* (Milan, 1802); P. Mercati, *Saggio storico-statistico della città e isola di Zante* (n.p. 1811); D. Valsamachi, *Nota sopra la Repubblica Jonica presentata al Congresso di Vienna* (Vienna, 1815); Anon., *Lettera di un anonimo settinsulare scritta ed inviata all'Onorevolissimo Lord Nugent …* (Paris, 1839); F. Cusani, *Necessità ed utilità della Stampa nelle Isole Ionie* (Brussels, 1839); Theotoki, *Sir Federico Adam nelle Isole Ionie* (Malta, 1839); Anon., *Analisi della Convenzione di Parigi dell'anno 1815* (Malta, 1840); A. Mustoxidi, *Promemoria sulla condizione attuale delle Isole Ionie …* (London, 1840); Anon., *Considerazioni sullo scioglimento del VI Parlamento Ionio …* (London, 1840); D. Petrizzopulo, *Confutazione delle asserzioni di Sir Howard Douglas …* (London, 1840); Anon., *Rispettose osservazioni che sottomette al Parlamento Britannico …* (Malta, 1840); A. Mustoxidi, *Confutazione al dispaccio del 10 Aprile 1840 …* (Malta, 1841); V. Capodistria, *Osservazioni rispettosamente assoggettate alla considerazione del Parlamento Britannico sopra un Dispaccio …* (London, 1841); F. Cusani, *La Dalmazia, le Isole Ionie e la Grecia …* (Milan, 1847); N. Chiessari, *Sullo stato attuale delle Isole Ionie* (Corfu, 1850); M. Salomon, *La statistica generale dell'isola di Cefalonia …* (Corfu, 1859).

the period of political and military turmoil after the fall of the Republic, in placing at the centre of political and intellectual debates in the Islands the issues of political representation and constitutional development derived from the Enlightenment and the French Revolution.

The intellectual and political effort spent in preparing the three constitutions for the Ionian Islands (1800, 1803, 1817) had also acted as a catalyst for political debate. The first constitution, written by Angelo Orio (a former Venetian patrician), had a strong 'aristocratic' element. The second opened up access to power to the wealthier Ionians; but even in this 'constitutional aristocracy' the Venetian influence remained strong.[44] The third constitution was only a slight modification of the second, both in the essential prerogatives of the ruling class and in its co-optation. The first Lord High Commissioner, Sir Thomas Maitland, made some crucial changes in the third constitution however, as its final text removed any real power from the local assemblies and placed it firmly in the hands of the Lord High Commissioner.[45]

Economically, the British forgot – or chose to forget – that their arrival had been advocated and facilitated both by the local commercial bourgeoisie and by the landowners, with the openly stated goal that the economy of the Islands would be well served by a close connection with the British empire. This connection favoured the Ionians only insofar as it allowed them to expand the range of their tramp shipping operations in the areas under British control.[46] Throughout the period of the Protectorate, the interests of the British – represented both centrally at government level in London and locally in the Islands' administration – remained tightly focused on Corfu and on the attempt to take full advantage of its strategic position and excellent military infrastructure.[47] But the strongest supporters of Britain at the beginning of the century had been the populations of

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[44] For example when defining the *cursus honorum* it was stated that smaller offices needed to be occupied before greater offices could be; refusing to take up a position or office would have resulted in a hefty fine, see [N.B. Manesis (ed.)], *Le tre costituzioni (1800, 1803, 1817) delle Sette Isole Jonie: ed i relativi documenti con l'aggiunta dei due progetti di constituzione del 1802 e 1806 e delle modificazioni e riforme alla Costituzione del 1817* (Corfu, 1849).

[45] W.F. Lord, *Sir Thomas Maitland: The Mastery of the Mediterranean* (London, 1897); C.W. Dixon, *The Colonial Administrations of Sir Thomas Maitland* (London, 1939).

[46] J. Davy, *Notes and Observations on the Ionian Islands and Malta* (London, 1842), pp. 61–2; G. Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-owned Shipping: The Making of an International Tramp Fleet, 1830 to the Present Day* (London and New York, 1996), p. 91; P. Cernovodeanu, 'British Economic Interests in the Lower Danube and the Balkan Shore of the Black Sea between 1803 and 1829', *Journal of European Economic History*, 5 (1976): 105–20.

[47] G. Zucconi, 'Corcira Britannica. Urban Architecture and Strategies in the Capital of the Ionian Islands', in E. Concina and A. Nikiforou-Testone (eds), *Corfu: History, Urban Space and Architecture, 14th–19th Centuries* (Corfu, 1994), pp. 95–103, pp. 98–100; G. Panagopoulos, 'The Urban Transformation of Corfu during the Protectorate: The Role of

Zante and Cephalonia – which throughout the Protectorate continued to contribute more to the public revenue. Still, the British focus on Corfu made the inhabitants of Zante and Cephalonia feel neglected, and their previous closeness to the British weakened until they became the most riotous and difficult to control of all the Ionian Islands.

Socially, the British Protectorate did not substantially change the Islands' socio-economic structure that Venice had established. The preservation of the inheritance laws devised under Venice – especially regarding inheritance *ab intestato*, that is to say where there was no will or the will did not take into account the totality of the estate – preserved the status quo, especially regarding land tenure. The permanence of this legislation slowed down social development in the Islands far beyond the period of the Protectorate, as these specific laws were confirmed first in the Ionian Civil Code (1841) and then integrated into the legislation of the Greek state after the union of the Islands with Greece (1864).[48] Thus the creation of some 'modernizing' institutions concerned with the economic sphere that took place during the British Protectorate – such as Chambers of Commerce in Cephalonia and Corfu, Exchanges in Zante and Corfu, and the Ionian Bank (the latter created with British capital)[49] – was not really matched by any equivalent evolution in the underlying socio-economic structures.

The Islands' ruling class was used to exercising an important political role at the local level, which was severely curtailed during the British Protectorate. They also had a long tradition of joining the armed forces of their overlord – Greek *stradioti* were for centuries a crucial element in Venetian military forces – but only by an act passed in 1857 were Ionians now permitted to hold commissions in the British armed forces.[50] It is not difficult to understand how the Ionians, finding themselves treated as inferior and uneducated, developed a behaviour characterized by mistrust and disillusionment, which weakened the Ionian–British relationship from the beginning of the Protectorate, and became one of the principal factors in creating a fertile ground for the rapid growth of support for enosis with the Kingdom of Greece.

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the Esplanade', in J.R. Melville-Jones (ed.), *Studies in the Architecture of Dalmatia and Corfu* (Venice, 2001), pp. 53–64.

[48] S. Flogaïtis, *Système vénitien de successions ab intestat et structures fámiliales dans les îles ioniennes* (Geneva, 1981), pp. 14, 120.

[49] Gekas, *Class formation*, pp. 12–13; *Ionian Bank Limited: A History* (London, 1953), p. 7; P.L. Cottrell, *The Ionian Bank. An Imperial Institution, 1839–1864* (Athens, 2007).

[50] M. Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire: Reflections on the History of the Ionian Islands from the Fall of Byzantium* (London, 1978), pp. 127, 141, 155.

The Venetian Legal Heritage As a Solution?

In the period between the fall of the Republic (1797) and the promulgation of the 1817 constitution, the civil laws of the former Republic remained in full force. Lord High Commissioner Maitland reinforced this upon his arrival, when he proclaimed that the only wisdom in legislating was that of experience. A full reform of the legislation was promised; but it happened only much later, in the 1840s. By then the political pressure was mounting, as the Ionians were becoming more and more dissatisfied with British rule, and, worse, were showing strong signs of wanting to be united with the new Greek state that had emerged in 1831 from the decade-long war for independence against the Ottoman empire. Increasingly in the 1830s and 1840s the Islands were becoming ungovernable.[51]

In 1841 the Ionian Codes – Civil, Penal and Commercial – were finally published, and the Venetian statutes lost their subsidiary role in the hierarchy of legal sources. But the municipal laws – also drafted by Venetian officers – remained as a source of law, continuing to play an important role filling the legal gaps not specifically covered in the Codes themselves. In a hybrid legal system such as that of the Ionian Islands – developing on the one hand through codification and on the other hand through the use of precedent in line with the influence of common law – the collection and publication of past legislation represented an essential step for the efficient administration of justice. Interestingly, thanks to the common law procedure used in the Islands, the municipal laws ended up having a larger area of application than they had had in Venetian times.[52]

Law as an instrument of colonialism has been defined as having a tripartite role: to maintain civil order in a colonial society; to help the collection of revenues; and as a key factor in the modernization of commercial activity in the colony.[53] At the same time the legal system in a colonial society was both a point of intersection between metropolitan and colonial interests, and the 'cutting edge of colonialism, central to the 'civilizing mission' of imperialism, particularly British imperialism of the nineteenth and early twentieth century'.[54] This British stress on the crucial role of the law is what makes this a particularly interesting episode in the *longue-durée* and long-distance dialogue between empires; faced with ever-growing local discontent, the British resorted to the old 'legislative wisdom' of the Republic

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[51] J.J. Tumelty, *The Ionian Islands under British Administration, 1815–1864*, unpublished PhD thesis, Cambridge University, 1952; M. Paximadopoulos-Stavrinos, *The Rebellions of Kefalonia in the Years 1848 and 1849* (Athens, 1980) [in Greek].

[52] G. Cozzi, 'Diritto veneto e lingua italiana nelle isole Ionie nella prima metà dell'Ottocento', in *Omaggio a Gianfranco Folena* (3 vols, Padua, 1993), vol. 2, pp. 1533–48, pp. 1535–40.

[53] James Bryce quoted in J.R. Schmidhauser, 'Power, Legal Imperialism, and Dependency', *Law & Society Review*, 23 (1989): 857–78, p. 862.

[54] S.E. Merry, 'Law and Colonialism', *Law & Society Review*, 25 (1991): 889–922, p. 890.

– the foundation of the 'myth of Venice' – in an attempt to provide a solution which could pacify the local populations.

The official publication of the Municipal Laws – a collection of all the laws concerning the Ionian Islands that had been issued during the centuries of Venetian rule – by the Government Press (1846) is an important episode in this long-distance dialogue, for the High Commissioner, Lord Seaton, authorized their publication and sanctioned their use as a secondary source of jurisprudence. In the introduction to this collection, the editor, Giacomo Pojago, lavished high praise on the legislative wisdom of the Republic: 'these laws were daughters of the Legislative Spirit of an Illustrious Republic who alone could make law in times when all nations governed themselves with usages'.[55] Appearing in such a prominent place, this praise for Venice assumed the value of an official sanction.[56] For the British administration the simple fact of republishing and adopting the laws – while asserting that they were not the laws of Venice but of the Islands, as if many had not been issued by the Venetian authorities – was a clear contradiction of the proclamations on reform and the implementation of a new, educated northern rationality, and of their previous manifesto 'elevating legal reform so as to make it the centrepiece of their administration'.[57] It was indeed an interesting contradiction; on the one hand, the old Venetian administration continued to be accused of having damaged local society through bad legislation which had corrupted the social fabric of the Islands and the administration of proper justice. On the other, however, the British not only continued to use the Venetian legislation issued for the Islands in the administration of justice, but also republished it with their official seal.

It is also interesting to note how, in the meantime, the movement for independence in mainland Greece was trying to revive the Roman-Byzantine legal system as an integral part of their juridical culture,[58] making a shrewd choice of the cultural element as a weapon in the fight for independence. The British overlords of the Ionian Islands preferred instead to cling to Venetian legislation. It can also be argued that this was a calculated manoeuvre through which Britain attempted an ideological distancing of the Ionian Islands from the cultural development of the Kingdom of Greece. Maybe the old Venetian local legislation was indeed the best way to administer and pacify the Islands, as these laws had grown in conformity with the needs and desires of the local population.[59]

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[55] G. Pojago (ed.), *Le Leggi municipali delle Isole Ionie dall'anno 1386 fino alla caduta della Repubblica Veneta* (Corfu, 1846), p. 6.

[56] Cozzi, 'Diritto veneto e lingua italiana', pp. 1533, 1541.

[57] Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion*, p. 213.

[58] But the Greek kingdom also adopted the French Code de Commerce, see P.J. Zepos, 'La science du droit au cours du dernier siècle: Grèce', in Mario Rotondi (ed.), *Inchieste di diritto comparato* (Padua, 1976), pp. 359–80.

[59] E. Lunzi, *Della condizione politica delle Isole Ionie sotto il dominio veneto* (Venice, 1858), p. 424.

Some Conclusions

Discussing the unity and variety of 'cultural history', Peter Burke noted some years ago how historians were starting to show a 'relatively new interest in the way in which the parties involved perceived, understood, or indeed failed to understand one another', and commented that 'the history of empires offers clear examples of cultural interaction'.[60] Imperial historians have taken up this challenge, and it has since been argued that 'much of the most ambitious, and one might argue best, imperial history is comparative and indeed the core-periphery paradigm lends itself to making comparisons between different Empires'.[61]

Still, as I said at the beginning of this chapter, the history of Venice as an 'empire' is a neglected topic, and the genesis of this chapter stems from my awareness that in the last few decades a chance has been missed by Venetian historiography to deal with issues that have instead been at the centre of current historiographical debates, such as the nature of 'empires'. The history of the Ionian Islands under both empires is a splendid embodiment of these issues in the *longue durée*. There is still a lot of work to be done, but the experience of Venice represented an important precedent for the British, and there is a lot to learn about both 'cultural encounters' and 'empires' by investigating how, over time, the British 'perceived, understood, or indeed failed to understand' the Venetian lesson.

The publication of the Municipal Laws helped towards the pacification of the Islands, as daily disturbances abated considerably; and it certainly reinforced the Ionian peculiarities, as did the Venetian legislation on inheritances – regarding *ab intestato* succession – which was finally scrapped only with the first Civil Code of the Greek state in 1946. It failed to extend the duration of the Protectorate itself, but the cession of the Islands to Greece in 1864 had more to do with the status of Britain as a great power, especially its position vis-à-vis the Italian struggle for independence and the way this interacted with the Greek kingdom's constitutional crisis. Last but not least, the Islands had become substantially less strategically important than at the beginning of the century, as Malta had secured its place as the stronghold of British presence in the Mediterranean.[62] By letting the Islands join the Greek state, the British not only increased their credibility in the region as mediators between different powers, but also rid themselves of what had become an administrative burden.

It is tempting to see the publication of the Municipal Laws as the 'revenge' of the myth of Venice, a sort of posthumous vindication of Venice. More than 50 years after the death of the Republic, Britain, at first the most vociferous supporter of a 'high culture' constitutional myth, and later one of the harshest critics of

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60 Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History*, pp. 203, 202.

61 Glayser, 'Networking: Trade and Exchange', p. 453.

62 T.O. Lloyd, *The British Empire, 1558–1995* (Oxford, 1996 [1984]), p. 184.

the Republic as a corrupt state,[63] resurrected and adopted Venice's laws – her 'legislative wisdom' (not the spin propaganda of political treaties) – as the only practical solution in how to handle the Ionian population. I cannot help but see this as an interesting homage from the most pragmatic empire of the nineteenth century to its most pragmatic predecessor. More work needs to be done on these issues, and especially on the long-term relationship between Venice and Britain. But I hope to have shown how the connection between the two empires was indeed strong, and eerily reminiscent of the dedication placed by James Howell in his *Survey of the Seignorie of Venice* two centuries earlier, when he paid tribute to her practice of government or administration by declaring Venice to be the 'Queen of Policie'.[64]

[63] See Disraeli talking about a 'Venetian oligarchy' in criticizing Whig England, in J.G.A Pocock, 'Machiavelli, Harrington and English Political Ideologies in the Eighteenth Century', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 22 (1965): 549–83, p. 570.

[64] J. Howell, *Survey of the Seignorie of Venice* (London, 1651).

Chapter 16
Harping on the Past: Translating Antiquarian Learning into Popular Culture in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland

Clare O'Halloran

In his classic short study *The Renaissance Sense of the Past* (1969), Peter Burke outlined the new historical thinking that the rediscovery of the culture and writings of classical Greece and Rome had indirectly occasioned. A sense of historical change and a more critical approach to sources and to myths, when allied to a new recognition that 'all sorts of things – buildings, clothes, words, laws' had a history, gave rise to antiquarian scholarship.[1] For a time, the antiquary was a highly respected member of the republic of letters, as demonstrated in Peter Miller's skilful examination of the milieu and reputation of Nicolas de Peiresc (1580–1637), the Provençal scholar and *parlementaire*, 'one of Europe's most famous men', who was at the centre of a network of European antiquarian and scientific writers and researchers in the early seventeenth century. On his death, a memorial meeting in Rome was attended by ten cardinals and dozens of antiquaries and philologists, a volume of elegiac poetry in 40 languages was published and he was the subject of 'the most important biography of a scholar in the seventeenth century'.[2] Yet it was at precisely this time that the image of the antiquary also came under satirical attack. In Shackerley Marmion's play *The Antiquary* (1641), for example, he was mocked as a 'credulous collector of absurd bogus antiquities', his erudition derided as unworldly and incompatible with the mores of a civilized gentleman.[3] In the following century it was the French *encyclopédists* who, as Arnaldo Momigliano put it, 'declared war upon erudition', and rejected that kind of detailed scholarship as a prerequisite for cultural authority.[4] The new 'philosophical' history of the

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[1] Peter Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past* (London, 1969), pp. 39, 50–76.

[2] Peter N. Miller, *Peiresc's Europe: Learning and Virtue in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven and London, 2000), pp. 1–2.

[3] Stuart Piggott, *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination* (London, 1989), pp. 15–17; Joseph M. Levine, *Dr Woodward's Shield: History, Science, and Satire in Augustan England* (Ithaca and London, 1991), pp. 117–18.

[4] Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford, 1990), pp. 74–5; Miller, *Peiresc's Europe*, pp. 151–2.

Enlightenment usually declared its contempt for antiquarian scholarship, although there were some notable exceptions, such as Edward Gibbon.[5]

The stock character of the antiquary as buffoon was revamped by Walter Scott in *The Antiquary* (1816), the third of his Waverley novels. Jonathan Oldbuck (whom Scott modelled partly on himself) is a crusty bachelor, whose heated but ineffectual disputes with his neighbour, Sir Arthur Wardour, over the vexed issue of the ethnic origins of the Scots, mask a kindliness and sympathy at odds with his public persona. Scott's description of Oldbuck's study as 'a *mare magnum* of miscellaneous trumpery' makes clear that the only dangers he faces are of being swamped by his antiquarian enthusiasm for collectible objects, or of being imposed upon by unscrupulous fraudsters (as his friend Sir Arthur is).[6] Oldbuck's interest in the minutiae of the Picts and legendary Caledonians, like his quarrels with Sir Arthur, are symptomatic of a kind of antiquarian scholarship that jumbled together the important and the ephemeral without discernment. Scott's antiquary lives at one remove from society, and also from history; a mere bystander in the novel, who watches the action unfold without making any telling intervention. However, while Scott satirized what was seen as the arid scholarship of the antiquary in this work, he nevertheless made the antiquarian past central to the type of cultural reconciliation between Scotland and England that he put forward in novels such as *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818).

Scott's *The Antiquary* was an early starting point in my first investigations into Irish antiquaries and their writings in the second half of the eighteenth century. The novel provided confirmation that it was not only in Ireland that criticism of antiquarian scholarship as eccentric, fanciful or credulous was still in common currency at the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth. It also suggested Scottish antiquarianism as an interesting comparison, given the shared Gaelic culture of Ireland and Scotland and their rather different relationships with the dominant power, England. Indeed, most of the issues that Jonathan Oldbuck and Sir Arthur Wardour quarrelled over had their Irish counterparts. Thus, for example, in place of the Picts, Caledonians and Celts, Irish antiquaries had their contests over the medieval Irish origin legend, which held that the island was peopled in ancient times by the Milesians from the southern Mediterranean region, seen as the cradle of European civilization.[7] This was contentious because it provided support for a golden age myth of a learned, orderly and civilized polity in Ireland, in pagan as well as Christian times, which was only destroyed by English colonists in the late twelfth century.

The legacies of that and the subsequent colonizations from England (and Scotland) in the late sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries provided the framework

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[5] J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion* (4 vols, Cambridge, 1999–), vol. 1, pp. 137–51.

[6] Walter Scott, *The Antiquary* [1816] (London, n.d.), p. 18 (Chapter 3).

[7] Clare O'Halloran, 'Ownership of the Past: Antiquarian Debate and Ethnic Identity in Scotland and Ireland', in S.J. Connolly, R.A. Houston and R.J. Morris (eds), *Conflict, Identity and Economic Development, 1660–1839* (Preston, 1995), pp. 135–47.

for all subsequent Irish historical scholarship and debate. The core issue was the nature of Irish society as the first English colonists had found it. Twelfth-century writers, such as Gerald of Wales, had stressed its barbarism, thus representing the newcomers as the harbingers of civilization.[8] Later colonists (like Edmund Spenser at the end of the sixteenth century) argued that this civilizing project had been left unfinished, and painted a lurid picture of contemporary native Irish backwardness and lawlessness, in support of a harsh policy of military domination and the wholesale destruction of Gaelic culture and its replacement by English mores, language and the Reformed religion.[9]

Thus, a by-product of colonization was the provision of a dark counter-narrative to that of the golden age, which caused, in turn, a reactive burnishing of the latter. Antiquaries from the early seventeenth century operated between these interpretative twin poles, their positions determined largely, but not wholly, by their religion. Those of colonist stock and adherents of the Anglican state Church (who held exclusive political power) were more likely to support the counter-narrative of colonization as a civilizing mission; and Catholic antiquaries to a man (there were no women, alas) embraced with fervour the historicity of the pre-twelfth-century golden age. However, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a number of Protestant scholars began to interest themselves in Gaelic culture (although they could neither read nor speak Irish), and to extol its virtues as a repository of history as well as of sublime music and poetry. They argued that harsh English policies had perverted the initial civilizing impulse of colonization, resulting in the gradual degradation of Gaelic popular culture of their own time. Their enthusiasm was for the aristocratic bardic literary tradition as revealed in medieval manuscripts and in its last remnants from the early eighteenth century.[10] In their claims to understand and to comment authoritatively on native Irish history and literature, these liberal Protestant antiquaries echoed many of the concerns of Creole scholars in South America, whose writings have recently been highlighted by Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra. He focuses on the role of Creole Spanish American antiquaries of the eighteenth century, who wrote patriotic histories to endow Creole colonial societies with a glorious past and to refute the views of sceptical northern European authors about the incivility of the Spanish American colonies.[11] Issues preoccupying Creole scholars – for example, the reliability of

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[8] Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. John J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth, 1982).

[9] Edmund Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland: from the First Printed Edition (1663)*, ed. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford, 1997); see Joep Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael* (Cork, 1996), pp. 38–61.

[10] See, for example, Joseph Cooper Walker, *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* (Dublin, 1786); Cooper Walker, *An Historical Essay on the Dress of the Ancient and Modern Irish* (Dublin, 1788).

[11] Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the 18th c. Atlantic World* (Stanford, 2001), pp. 2–4, 8–9,

Native Indian records for the pre-colonial and early colonial periods, and the status of Amerindian forms of writing – had their Irish equivalents, thus suggesting the continuing colonial dimension in cultural debate, as in politics, in eighteenth-century Ireland.

As part of this new enthusiasm for the Gaelic world from the 1770s, a number of attempts were made by Protestant antiquarian learned societies to collect Gaelic manuscript remains and publish them in English translation.[12] These were now seen as the key to understanding the Irish pre-colonial past, which Protestant patriot antiquaries were harnessing to form new legitimating historical narratives that tended to be critical of English policy in Ireland, past and present. However, this impulse was not universal and there were Protestant sceptics who rejected these patriot narratives and held to the older colonial tradition of Irish barbarism. They dismissed the Gaelic manuscript materials as the work of the late Middle Ages, 'a period … of rebellion and domestic confusion', and the 'fabulous tales' therein as unworthy of scholarly attention.[13] Thus, the disputed nature and value of the medieval manuscript materials as historical sources for the pre-colonial period was a corollary of the civility versus barbarism debate, with those who regarded colonization as progress being unwilling to allow the possibility of a valuable Gaelic tradition of scholarship. Positions taken on these questions were also linked directly to one of the major contemporary political issues of the second half of the eighteenth century – namely what to do about the panoply of discriminatory laws against Catholics, which had been put in place in the 1690s and early 1700s, in response to Irish Catholic support for the Stuarts, and which excluded them from all political power and preferment, and severely curtailed their inheritance rights. Advocates of a pre-colonial golden age generally supported the relaxation of these laws (views on how far that relaxation should go varied), while those who felt the laws were justified by the ever-present Catholic threat of rebellion tended to the opposite perspective of a barbarous early Ireland.

Hence, in Ireland, the antiquary was not the quaint and marginal figure suggested by Scott's novel, but rather a highly politicized writer, edgily aware of the contemporary resonances of his pronouncements on the early Irish past. This awareness was further reinforced by the bloody rebellion of 1798, in which 30,000 people are estimated to have died. It was a shocking blow to the confidence of the Anglican ruling elite and was seen by them as a reprise of the massacre of Protestants by Catholics in 1641, a traumatic event that had remained strong in their historical

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60–63, 111–29, 204–65.

[12] Clare O'Halloran, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations: Antiquarian Debate and Cultural Politics in Ireland, c.1750–1800* (Cork, 2004), pp. 36–8, 172–5.

[13] See, for example, Edward Ledwich, *Antiquities of Ireland* (Dublin, 1790), pp. 81–2; Thomas Campbell, *Strictures on the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Ireland* (Dublin, 1789), pp. 35–9.

memory.[14] That the vast majority of the rebels were Catholic, and many Gaelic speaking, caused, among other things, a discrediting of that antiquarian interest in, and extolling of, the Gaelic past and culture, now confirmed as inextricably bound up with sedition. The immediate effect was a significant decrease in antiquarian activity and writing, particularly among Protestant antiquaries who were Gaelic enthusiasts, and who were seen to have been particularly compromised by the rebellion. The antiquities section of the Royal Irish Academy, which had hitherto sponsored an ambitious programme of collecting and translating Gaelic manuscripts, abandoned that project and became moribund for most of the next 20 years, only resuming its meetings in the late 1820s.[15]

However, what looks like a long caesura in Protestant elite antiquarianism is to some extent misleading. Rather, it was displaced into at least one other literary genre: in this case, the Irish novel of the early nineteenth century, which was a significant influence on Walter Scott. There has been considerable work done on Irish fiction of this period, with a particular focus on its political contexts.[16] The novel is seen as having been transformed by the Act of Union of 1801 (a government response to the 1798 rebellion), which incorporated Ireland fully into the British state as a means of ensuring its security. The shifting of the centre of power from Dublin (where the by now abolished Irish parliament had sat every winter) to London had huge political, but also social, cultural and economic repercussions, for the Irish elite and for Irish writers. The Irish question (in other words, how to ensure good government and stability in this impoverished and intractable part of the British state) was now to be decided at Westminster. That same eastward focusing of attention can be seen also in the Irish novel, invariably published in London, with writers addressing themselves particularly to an English audience in an effort to explain this neighbouring, yet exotic and sometimes alien island. The result of this greater understanding, it was hoped, would be policies that would prevent further traumatic rebellion and lead to harmonious relations between the two islands. Even when set resolutely in the present, the post-Union novel centred on the past and its legacies, which were seen as critical to questions of allegiance and identity.

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[14] Jacqueline Hill, '1641 and the Quest for Catholic Emancipation in Ireland, 1691–1829', in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Ulster 1641: Aspects of the Rising* (Belfast, 1993), pp. 159–72; James Kelly, '"We Were All to Have Been Massacred": Irish Protestants and the Experience of Rebellion', in Thomas Bartlett et al. (eds), *1798: A Bicentenary Perspective* (Dublin, 2003), pp. 312–30.

[15] O'Halloran, *Golden Ages*, pp. 172–5, 181.

[16] See, for example, Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representation of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Cork, 1996); Ina Ferris, *The Romantic National Tale and the Question of Ireland* (Cambridge, 2002); Miranda Burgess, 'The National Tale and Allied Genres, 1770s–1840s', in John Wilson Foster (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Irish Novel* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 39–59.

This can be seen in the treatment of antiquarian themes in three Irish novels of the early nineteenth century by Irish Protestant writers: Sydney Owenson (Lady Morgan)'s *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806), Maria Edgeworth's *The Absentee* (1812) and Charles Robert Maturin's *The Milesian Chief* (also 1812). This analysis forms part of a wider project of tracking the percolation of late eighteenth-century antiquarianism into the popular print culture of the first half of the nineteenth century; 'popular' here including the growing middle classes, who were the main readers of the new fiction. In particular, I want to look ultimately at the process by which antiquarianism was harnessed by Catholics as a way of mobilizing mass support for their political agenda of, firstly, Catholic Emancipation, and then repeal of the Act of Union, under the charismatic leadership of Daniel O'Connell. These novels are important not just as an early phase of this transmission process, but also because they show different responses by Protestant writers to Irish antiquarianism and its discrediting in the immediate aftermath of, not just the 1798 rebellion, but also the doomed uprising of Robert Emmet in 1803. All of them acknowledge, if not always directly, the challenges and indeed dangers posed by antiquarian knowledge and discourse to the Union settlement.

On the most basic level, antiquarian learning was harnessed by these novelists to provide romantic and exotic colour. Their plots often unfolded against a backdrop of ruined castles and abbeys in sublime mountainous scenery, and it was largely via the novel that a popular association began to be formed between the Irish past and ruins, such as monastic round towers, wolfhounds and especially the harp. The harp was an interestingly contested symbol.[17] Initially used to represent Ireland in the coinage of successive English monarchs, starting with Henry VIII, and in the royal standard from the time of James II, it became a symbol of Catholic rebellion in 1641 (a reflection of the royalism of the rebels perhaps), and of Jacobitism in the 1690s. During the eighteenth century the harp was prominent in the insignia of both 'patriot' organizations like the Volunteers of the late 1770s and 1780s and of 'loyalist' groups like the Yeomanry of the 1790s. It was given renewed official prominence in the insignia of the Order of the Illustrious Knights of St Patrick in the 1780s. (This Irish equivalent of the Order of the Garter attempted to attach 'patriot' sentiment to the state.)[18] However, it again became a prominent symbol of rebellion when taken up in the 1790s by the radical society of United Irishmen, whose original reformist aims (influenced by the first, moderate phase of the French Revolution) were transformed, largely by government oppression, into the goal of separation from Britain via armed revolt in 1798.[19]

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[17] G.A. Hayes-McCoy, *A History of Irish Flags from Earliest Times* (Dublin, 1979), pp. 22–3, 48–64, 89–108, 111–21.

[18] Peter Galloway, *The Most Illustrious Order: The Order of St Patrick and its Knights* (London, 1999).

[19] Mary Helen Thuente, *The Harp Re-strung: The United Irishmen and the Rise of Literary Nationalism* (Syracuse, 1994).

Antiquarian interest in the harp and in Irish music had been fostered in the late 1780s by Joseph Cooper Walker's *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* (1786), which was part of an Ossian-inspired vogue for such music that can be seen also in Wales, England and Scotland at around this time. As Katie Trumpener has shown, the figure of the ancient bard was widely adopted in the so-called Celtic fringe to symbolize cultural defiance against an anglicizing hegemony.[20] Works such as Walker's, and Charlotte Brooke's *Reliques of Irish Poetry* (1789) – the first substantial published collection of Gaelic poetry and song translated into English – argued for a national literary tradition that was not just equal to that of England but superior to it because rooted in an ancient language and golden age civilization. In July 1792 a group with close ties to the United Irishmen organized a harp festival in Belfast that was timed to coincide with Bastille Day celebrations, and with a large United Irish convention, thus underlining the connection of the harp with radical politics. One of the United Irish newspapers was called *The Harp of Erin*, and used the United Irish slogan on its masthead: 'It is newly strung and will be heard.' In addition, the image of the harp was frequently employed in the popular verse included in all United Irish publications.[21]

The traditional airs played at the Belfast Festival by an elderly and impoverished group of about a dozen harpists were transcribed by a copyist, Edward Bunting, in a conscious act of retrieval of a dying popular musical culture, which can be parallelled among all European elites in this period, as Peter Burke has shown.[22] The transcriptions, heavily reworked and adapted for the piano, provided the accompaniment for the *Irish Melodies* of the Catholic poet and political satirist Thomas Moore, which were published in serial form to widespread acclaim in Britain as well as Ireland, from 1808 to 1834. Moore's verse was imbued with a romantic nostalgia for a lost golden age, encapsulated in the title of one of the most famous melodies, 'Let Erin remember the Days of Old'; and it often celebrated Irish martial heritage, though always safely in the distant past.[23] However, the ubiquity in his verse of the figure of the bard, playing a lament on his harp, enabled a more political reading, silently invoking the recent rebellions of 1798 and 1803:

> But alas for his country! – her pride is gone by,
> And that spirit is broken, which never would bend;
> O'er the ruin her children in secret must sigh,
> For 'tis treason to love her, and death to defend.[24]

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[20] Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton, 1997), p. 4.

[21] Thuente, *The Harp Re-strung*, pp. 120–21.

[22] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1978), pp. 3–22.

[23] Thomas Moore, 'Let Erin remember the Days of Old', *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore, collected by himself* (10 vols, London, 1853), vol. 3, pp. 252–3.

[24] Thomas Moore, 'Oh! Blame not the Bard', ibid., pp. 264–5.

The heroines of all three of the novels under consideration here are closely associated with the harp. Glorvina, in Sidney Owenson's *The Wild Irish Girl*, is an accomplished harpist and singer of Gaelic songs; Grace Nugent of Edgeworth's *The Absentee* is named after a well-known composition of the famous harpist and composer of the early eighteenth century, Turlough O Carolan; while in Maturin's *The Milesian Chief*, Armida plays on a continental harp, in keeping with her Anglo-Italian parentage; but she too can sing Irish airs. Alone of the three novelists, however, Maturin makes explicit the connection between the harp and sedition.

Owenson's *The Wild Irish Girl* was the first of these novels to be published, and its subtitle, 'a National Tale', is now used to identify this distinctively Irish Romantic genre, which is recognized as a significant influence on Scott's early Waverley novels.[25] *The Wild Irish Girl* also most obviously bears the imprint of antiquarian scholarship, not just in the text but in lengthy didactic footnotes that advertise the weighty research undertaken by the author and educate her English readership about Irish history.[26] She also includes efficient summaries of some of the major antiquarian debates, such as over the authenticity of Macpherson's Ossian poems and the status of the Gaelic manuscript tradition as a source for early Irish history, using these in her plot as a kind of symbolic enactment of Anglo-Irish conflict in which the English Mortimer is made to bow to superior Irish disputation and scholarship.[27] But *The Wild Irish Girl* also created a popular vogue, in Ireland at least, for 'antique' jewellery, hairstyles and dresses in the Glorvina style, which Owenson had described in detail, drawing on the 1788 *Historical Essay on the Dress of the Ancient and Modern Irish*, by Joseph Cooper Walker, author of *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*.[28]

Walker offered Owenson every encouragement, recommending that she also incorporate local story-telling and oral legend in her novel.[29] However, in the same year that *The Wild Irish Girl* was published, 1806, he himself all but repudiated his earlier antiquarian works that she had drawn on, calling them 'my crude productions on the subjects of the history and antiquities of Ireland' and ascribing their faults to 'youthful enthusiasm'.[30] He had, in fact, been engaged in a process of distancing

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[25] Burgess, 'The National Tale', p. 39; Ina Ferris, *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History, and the Waverley Novels* (Ithaca and London, 1991), pp. 105–33.

[26] Scott later added extensive footnotes to the Magnum Opus edition of the complete Waverley novels, which began appearing in 1829, in order to root his story 'more explicitly in actuality' (Ann Rigney, *Imperfect Histories: The Elusive Past and the Legacy of Romantic Historicism* (Ithaca and London, 2001), pp. 42–5.)

[27] Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, p. 131.

[28] Claire Connolly, 'Note on the Text' in Sydney Owenson, *The Wild Irish Girl: A National Tale* [1806], ed. Claire Connolly (London, 2000), p. lxvi.

[29] Ibid., pp. lx–lxi.

[30] Joseph Cooper Walker, 'On the Origin of Romantic Fabling in Ireland', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, 10 (1806), antiquities section, pp. 3–5, 21; O'Halloran, *Golden Ages*, pp. 179–80.

himself from these since the early 1790s, when the United Irishmen had adopted the harp and the bard as emblems of the radical cause, just as in the same decade he repudiated his youthful support for the Whig politics of the 'patriot' party in the Irish parliament. Owenson adopted Walker's descriptions of bards, of music and of Irish dress with exuberance, and without any of his concerns about the political resonances of such material in the wake of 1798. Her lack of inhibition may partly be explained by the fictional genre that she had adopted. Walker, for example, could not have foretold that the pike that he had featured as part of the battledress of the early Irish warrior hero in his 1788 *Historical Essay* on Irish dress would be the main weapon used by the rebels in 1798.[31] But Owenson could still clothe her characters in versions of the garb depicted in Walker's *Historical Essay*, because she had full control of her narrative and could choose an ending that avoided echoes of recent wars or rebellions.

The plot involves a young man, Horatio Mortimer, journeying for the first time to Ireland, where his family own land that was won by their Cromwellian soldier-ancestor during the wars of the mid-seventeenth century. Ignorant of Irish history, he quickly realizes, once he arrives, that the land had been confiscated from the ancestors of the Prince of Inismore, who now lives nearby in a ruined castle with his daughter, Glorvina, and chaplain, but who remains highly aggrieved at his family's dispossession. That Owenson can make the prince explicitly stand for the dispossessed Gaelic aristocracy is a measure of the freedom she experienced in tackling politically fraught topics such as this, and it may have something to do with her unusually mixed Gaelic Catholic and Protestant gentry family background.[32] By contrast, the eighteenth-century antiquaries, whose works she had consulted and borrowed from, could only allude indirectly to the seventeenth-century land confiscations, and the consequent destruction of the Gaelic elite, lest they were perceived to be advocating revolution.[33] Owenson, however, ends the novel by signalling the marriage of Glorvina and Mortimer, thus uniting the colonizer with the colonized and thereby holding out the prospect of a palliative for the major trauma of Irish history.

On the way to this resolution, Mortimer is given a series of lessons on Irish history and Gaelic culture, which show him that the view he had held of Ireland as 'semi-barbarous [and] without.those … graces which distinguish polished society' was erroneous; in response he embarks on a study of Irish history and the Gaelic language under the tutelage of Glorvina.[34] However, Mortimer's change of mind is achieved only partly through the study of history books and grammars, and far more through what he calls 'the corroboration of living testimony', namely the Prince of Inismore and his daughter, who literally embody the golden age

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[31] O'Halloran, *Golden Ages*, p. 124.

[32] Tom Dunne, 'Fiction as "the Best History of Nations": Lady Morgan's Irish Novels', in Tom Dunne (ed.), *The Writer as Witness* (Cork, 1987), pp. 139–40.

[33] See O'Halloran, *Golden Ages*, p. 164.

[34] Owenson, *The Wild Irish Girl*, pp. 10, 45–6.

antiquarian lore to which Owenson constantly appeals in her lengthy footnotes. Thus, the prince's 'ancient costume of the Irish nobles' is described in great detail and accords with Walker's prescriptions in his 1788 essay on the subject.[35] His memory is said to be 'rich in oral tradition', and he declaims in Ossianic style about the decay of past greatness.[36] Furthermore, the great hall of his ruined castle now serves 'as an armory, a museum, a cabinet of national antiquities, and national curiosities', but this is not the miscellaneous collection of Walter Scott's Oldbuck, but rather 'the receptacle of all those precious relics, which [he] has been able to rescue from the wreck of his family splendour'.[37] As he sits in his 'immense arm-chair', with his 'ancient bard' playing the harp,

> his gratified eye wandering over the scattered insignia of the former prowess of his family … he forgets the derangement of his circumstances – he forgets that he is the ruined possessor of a visionary title; he feels only that he is a man – and an Irishman![38]

Thus, in *The Wild Irish Girl*, antiquarian lore is made part of the process of fostering harmony among Ireland's divided population – the old man can forget his loss in the comfort of the harp music, and his estates will be made good by the union of his harp-playing daughter with the by now almost Hibernicized Englishman.

We shall see how in Maturin's *The Milesian Chief*, antiquarianism (symbolized particularly by the harper) was vested with an explicitly sinister intent. Inhabiting a space in between these views, however, is Maria Edgeworth's *The Absentee*, which follows Owenson's plot in broad outline: a young man, Lord Colambre, whose family is Irish but whose home is in England, comes to Ireland to visit his estate. Imbued with roughly the same prejudices about Ireland as Owenson's hero, he too finds the reality very different, though a contrast to Morgan's version – 'a spirit of improvement, a desire for knowledge, and a taste for science and literature [was evident] in most companies' – and he resolves by the end to live on his Irish estate, and to reject the shallow life of an absentee landlord in London. As the quotation makes clear, this is not a straightforwardly romantic novel, although it employs some of the devices of that genre. Edgeworth's moral purpose was grounded in the Enlightenment ideal of education and improvement, and her novel advocates a reform of the land system in Ireland by means of a resident landlord class who would manage their estates wisely and thus ensure a contented and law-abiding peasantry.[39]

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35 Ibid., p. 46.

36 Ibid., pp. 60–61.

37 Ibid., p. 99.

38 Ibid.

39 Tom Dunne, '"A Gentleman's Estate Should Be a Moral School": Edgeworthstown in Fact and Fiction, 1760–1840', in Raymond Gillespie and Gerard Moran (eds), *Longford: Essays in County History* (Dublin, 1991), pp. 109–16.

Edgeworth shows none of Owenson's exuberant interest in antiquarianism, and significantly her hero, Colambre, does not read Joseph Cooper Walker, or any of the late eighteenth-century antiquaries. (Indeed, on arrival in Dublin, he is advised to read Spenser and other colonist writers.)[40] However, Edgeworth does make an antiquary central to the story, and she gives him the name O'Halloran, thereby recalling Sylvester O'Halloran, the Catholic antiquary whose works were important to Owenson. Count O'Halloran (the title coming from his service in the Austrian army) is described as 'a fine old military-looking gentleman' and 'a man of uncommon knowledge, merit, and politeness'.[41] He welcomes Colambre to Halloran castle, 'a fine old building, part of it in ruins, and part repaired with great judgment and taste'.[42] Unlike the Prince of Inismore, therefore, he believes in and practises renovation and improvement, rather than wallowing in a nostalgic stasis. Colambre is in love with his cousin Grace Nugent, but has been told that she is illegitimate by the scheming English Lady Dashfort, who plans to marry him off to her own daughter. Colambre is distraught at the news, but while in the count's study sees a book on the genealogy of the Nugent family. The count's interest in genealogy is in line with the more commercial aspects of the business of a number of well-known Irish antiquaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There was a ready market for family genealogies among the many Catholic Irish soldiers who enlisted in continental armies (Catholics being excluded from the British army by the penal laws) and who needed to prove a degree of noble birth in order to be eligible for promotion.[43]

It is O'Halloran's genealogical knowledge of the true nature of Grace's parentage that allows Colambre to wed his cousin and return to his Irish estates. On the other hand, the antiquities that the count has found on his estate and displayed in the great hall of his castle, 'golden ornaments, and brass-headed spears, and jointed horns of curious workmanship', are used by the evil Lady Dashfort to prevent a conversation between Colambre and the count that might reveal her lie about Grace's illegitimate birth. Dashfort rushes Colambre off to look at the count's collection, thus steering the conversation onto 'round towers, to various architectural antiquities, and the real and fabulous history of Ireland, on all which the count spoke with learning and enthusiasm'.[44] Here, Irish antiquities serve as a distraction from the truth, a barrier to the national reconciliation that will be achieved if Colambre the Protestant landowner marries his Irish cousin and lives on his estate as an improving landlord. Yet in making the count the instrument of that reconciliation, Edgeworth seems to suggest that it is not antiquarianism

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[40] Maria Edgeworth, *The Absentee*, eds W.J. McCormack and Kim Walker (Oxford, 1988), p. 81.

[41] Ibid., pp. 115, 113.

[42] Ibid., p. 113.

[43] On the genealogical activities of one Irish antiquary, see Richard Hayes, 'A Forgotten Irish Antiquary: Chevalier Thomas O'Gorman, 1732–1809', *Studies*, 30 (1941): 587–96.

[44] Edgeworth, *The Absentee*, pp. 120–21.

itself that is dangerous, but rather the uses to which it may be put. That the count is no threat is underlined by his service in the army of Austria, now a firm ally of Britain in the Napoleonic Wars, and he travels to London to help 'a relation' in the ministry with the planning of a British military expedition, using maps and charts brought with him from Ireland.[45] He is also made the mouthpiece of Edgeworth's own pragmatic support for the Act of Union, in his welcoming of the news that a number of English militia regiments have landed in Ireland:

> The two countries have the same interests; and, from the inhabitants discovering more of each other's good qualities, and interchanging little good offices in common life, their esteem and affection for each other would increase, and rest upon the firm basis of mutual utility.[46]

Thus, in Edgeworth's ideal Ireland, antiquarianism is to be compatible with fealty to the Union settlement.

This is in direct contrast to Maturin's *The Milesian Chief*, published in the same year as *The Absentee*, 1812. Maturin, an impecunious Church of Ireland clergyman, took note of the commercial success of Sydney Owenson's *The Wild Irish Girl* and, presumably with an eye to sales, entitled his first novel *The Wild Irish Boy* (1808), even though its only real similarity to the former is its reliance on the epistolary form. In fact, it is his next novel, *The Milesian Chief*, which borrows most obviously from Owenson's plot, but then only to subvert it and to cast doubt on its liberal Whig politics. Maturin was assisted early on by Walter Scott, who saw in the young Irish Tory writer a counter-balance to the Whig dominance of the Irish question.[47] Trumpener argues that Maturin was a considerable influence on Scott in turn, and that *The Milesian Chief*, which appeared just two years before *Waverley*, was an important marker in the transition from the Irish national tale of Morgan and Edgeworth to the historical novel of Scott.[48] The Anglo-Italian heroine, Armida (whose name evokes the heroine of Tasso's late sixteenth-century epic poem *Jerusalem Delivered*), moves to the west of Ireland with her English father to take possession of an estate that he has bought from a 'ruined Milesian family'.[49] The patriarch of that family has refused to accept the loss of his patrimony and shuts himself away in a tower on the border of his former estate with his grandson and his ancient, blind harper. It is this grandson who is the Milesian chief, Connal O'Morven, and who falls in love with Armida, in spite of being wracked, as he

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[45] Ibid., pp. 219–20.

[46] Ibid., pp. 116–17.

[47] Claire Connolly, 'Irish Romanticism, 1800–30', *The Cambridge History of Irish Literature* (2 vols, Cambridge, 2006), vol. 1, p. 418.

[48] Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, pp. 147–8. On the influence of Morgan and Edgeworth on Scott, see ibid., pp. 323–4.

[49] Charles Robert Maturin, *The Milesian Chief* (4 vols, New York, 1979), vol. 1, p. 48.

says himself, by the 'bitter thought' of his 'alienated home and rights'.[50] Connal, like the Prince of Inismore, wears 'the ancient Irish dress', and is described by Armida as resembling 'the bust of a classic hero' but with a 'wild and romantic sublimity of expression'. Unlike Owenson's prince, however, Connal is given a heavy fringe of hair, which immediately calls to mind Spenser's condemnation of the 'glibb' or long fringe worn by Irish rebels in the sixteenth century, which was used to disguise their features.[51] This immediately puts a different and far less sympathetic cast on Maturin's version of a Gaelic chieftain, which can be also seen in the circumstances of the O'Morvens' dispossession. Whereas in Owenson's novel, the ancestors of the Prince of Inismore had been deprived of lands through Cromwellian military conquest, the O'Morvens had sold their estate only 30 years previously. The cry that goes up among the O'Morvens and their followers when Armida and her family first enter the castle was 'a sound that expressed all the wild feelings of a savage people, mixed with grief, despair, and agonized attachment'.[52] The still primitive nature of the Gaelic O'Morvens means that they cannot let go of the past, and therefore cannot survive in the modern commercial world represented by Armida's English father.

However, if Maturin's conservative political message about the perils of Gaelic culture is emphatic on one level, it is nevertheless rendered less clear-cut by his ambivalence towards cosmopolitanism as represented by Armida's family background and her attachment to the classical culture of Greece and Rome.[53] When she quotes the first lines of Volney's influential *The Ruins; or, a Survey of the Revolutions of Empire* (1791), on first sight of an ancient ruined abbey, burial ground of the O'Morvens, Connal cuts across her and dismisses any parallel between the graveyard of his ancestors and the 'nameless ruins' of Volney's essay,'which are supposed to commemorate greatness now unknown, and virtues that have no other memorial'. These latter, he claims, can inspire only 'an abstract and indefinite melancholy', whereas 'here is a local genius', specific to generations of his family: 'I feel who lies below: every step I take awakes the memory of him on whose tomb I tread, and every hour seems weary till I lie down with them, and are [*sic*] forgotten.'[54] Furthermore, when her louche, cynical and ultimately depraved English fiancé, Wandesford, contrasts the 'rude relics' of the abbey with 'the splendid monuments of Grecian art at a still earlier period', Connal retorts that '[t]he greatest works of antiquity were the productions of despotism or of superstition'. Epitomizing the 'noble savage' (with all the contradictory attributes associated with that concept), Connal makes plain his rejection of the corruptions of modern society: 'I had rather be seated in the halls of my fathers, open perhaps

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[50] Maturin, *The Milesian Chief*, vol. 1, p. 189.

[51] Ibid., pp. 128–9.

[52] Ibid., p. 57.

[53] This paragraph owes much to the ideas of Ina Ferris in her *The Romantic National Tale and the Question of Ireland* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 112–17.

[54] Maturin, *The Milesian Chief*, vol. 1, pp. 186–7.

to every wind of heaven, with my bards and my warriors around me, than be the supple, silk-clad pensioner of an English minister.'[55]

Maturin's Rousseau-like critique of the inauthenticity of metropolitan society and culture, while a staple of the romantic genre, coexists uneasily with the determinedly negative portrait of its supposed opposite, traditional Gaelic society. It is one reason why, in *The Milesian Chief*, Maturin crafted a novel that was more gothic than romantic, allowing him to blend a romantic sensibility with a dark view of the Gaelic world and Gaelic culture.[56] Unsurprisingly, the only antiquary whose work he cites in the novel is the conservative Protestant scholar Edward Ledwich, whose *Antiquities of Ireland* (1790) provided the main challenge to the liberal, romantic antiquaries like O'Halloran and Walker (Owenson's authorities), and poured scorn on their golden age versions of the early Irish past.[57] Like Ledwich, Maturin deliberately put himself in the colonist tradition of Spenser. He had previously signalled this in his 1808 novel *The Wild Irish Boy*, by quoting on the title page from Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1598). In *The Milesian Chief*, antiquarian enthusiasm for the Gaelic world transmutes into revolutionary separatism. Inevitably, Connal leads an insurgency, which echoes elements of both the 1798 and 1803 rebellions, the latter of course also associated with another romantic but doomed leader, Robert Emmet. In contrast to Owenson's *The Wild Irish Girl*, where brief references to the recent rebellions are corralled safely into the extensive footnotes, Maturin makes explicit the contemporary context of his plot by having Connal apply military tactics learned from a battle fought in 1798.[58]

Connal realizes, too late, the folly of this renewed insurgency, and that it is 'impossible for Ireland … to exist without dependence on the continental powers, or a connexion with England', but although he wants to give up the enterprise, he feels an honourable commitment to 'the brave men who had embraced it'.[59] Knowledge having replaced 'illusion', Connal can see how he has been seduced into rebellion by his mad grandfather, who 'shut himself up in the old tower on his ancient demesne … listened to the tales of his bards and the songs of his harpers … brooded over his pride and his misfortunes till madness began to ferment in his mind; and he conceived the frantic idea of wresting Ireland from the English hand'.[60]

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[55] Ibid., pp. 190–91.

[56] For Ina Ferris, this novel is the first of the distinctive sub-genre, the Irish Gothic (Ferris, *The Romantic National Tale*, p. 175 n.)

[57] Maturin included just three endnotes, all referring to volume 1, and did nothing like the systematic research of Owenson (the notes can be found in vol. 4, p. 204). On Ledwich, see O'Halloran, *Golden Ages*, pp. 60–62, 66–9, 135–40, 157, 172.

[58] Maturin, *The Milesian Chief*, vol. 3, pp. 108–9.

[59] Ibid., p. 52.

[60] Ibid., p. 49.

While the Irish harp and its music in Owenson's *The Wild Irish Girl* symbolized civility as well as romantic feeling, which are also alluded to in the harp-associated name given to the sensitive heroine of Edgeworth's *The Absentee*, Maturin differentiates sharply between the impact of Armida's performance on the harp and that of the grandfather's blind harper. Armida's playing of an 'old Irish melody' causes Connal to leave his sorrows behind: 'and I feel that I could sit thus, on this rock, for ever forgetting our fallen house, forgetting the cold world, myself, everything but you'.[61] But the old harper is an ever-present symbol of the family's 'ruined fortunes', who 'touches his harp in empty halls, and wastes on the ear of age sounds that might have roused heroes to battle'. In old age he has forgotten all the love songs that he knew and can only sing of 'woe or death'. It was the 'martial airs' played on the harp that led Connal to become a rebel:

> At night, seated in the hall at my grandfather's feet; I listened to the harp and the legend till I believed them true as inspiration, and my heart burned and beat for the time 'ere the emerald gem of the western world was set in the crown of a stranger'.[62]

Here, Maturin has the rebel chief quote a line from the first verse of one of Thomas Moore's most popular melodies:

> Let Erin remember the days of old,
> Ere her faithless sons betray'd her.
> When Malachi wore the collar of gold,
> Which he won from her proud invader,
> When her kings, with standard of green unfurl'd,
> Led the Red-Branch Knights to danger; –
> Ere the emerald gem of the western world
> Was set in the crown of a stranger.[63]

Moore is celebrating Irish martial prowess in the wars against the Vikings, but in such a way that those glory days of resistance to the foreign invader are confined safely to history. In putting Moore's words into the mouth of Connal, who has already embarked on a rebellion set in the present, Maturin connects the antiquarianism of his own day, not with the romantic aim of recovering and celebrating a dying literary culture, but rather with a still potent sedition. He also works to strip away the golden-age sheen from the martial tradition, as celebrated by Moore in his *Melodies*, by depicting the rebel actions as savage and undisciplined. Thus, he undercuts the romantic and 'regal' figure of Connal, his harper by his side striking 'a martial chord on his harp', with descriptions of the 'barbarity' of

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61 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 155–6.

62 Ibid., vol. 3, p. 50.

63 Moore, 'Let Erin remember the Days of Old', *Poetical Works*, vol. 3, pp. 252–3.

his peasant army as they pursued a young British officer 'like wolves after their prey'.[64] Just as the Gaelic O'Morvens are unable to adapt to modern commercial values, so the rebels cannot fight according to the ways of modern warfare, and 'it seemed like the contest of two savage nations in their deserts: there was no array, no regularity, no conducted charge, no disciplined retreat'.[65] Thus, the discipline and professionalism of the government's own forces will be at risk of barbarous contamination if another rebellion is allowed to take place in Ireland.

In 'The Origins of the Harp', another of Moore's *Melodies*, the harp is said to have first been 'a Siren of old, who sung under the sea'.[66] Although Moore's siren sang of love, Maturin's connection of the harp to sedition is closer to the original story of the sea nymph who lured sailors to destruction on the rocks. Maturin's gothic version of modern Ireland is made plain in the denouement of the novel. Connal is executed by firing squad, while Armida takes poison and throws herself on his corpse to be united with him in death. Thus, Maturin casts doubt on the sunny optimism of Owenson's conclusion by subverting the marriage plot of Glorvina and Mortimer. There can be no safe blending of the Gaelic and the modern world through a marriage of the Milesian chief and his Anglo-Italian love, because Gaelic culture is not amenable to the harsh modern realities of the Union settlement. Equally, the impossibility, for Maturin, of an accommodation of the two cultures is signalled by a reversal of the gender terms of Owenson's original formulation.[67] The dispossessed culture in *The Milesian Chief* is embodied in an exclusively masculine form and remains threatening, whereas in *The Wild Irish Girl* it has been largely feminized in the person of Glorvina and thus rendered compliant and passive.

With hindsight we can see that Maturin's diagnosis of the dangers of antiquarianism was correct, since it was to play a central role in the development of the nineteenth-century Irish nationalism that led to the dismantling of the Union in 1921. The new cultural identity that emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century was based in part on the late eighteenth-century antiquaries' idealization of the Gaelic past, but it was also eventually given an exclusively Catholic cast. The irony here, of course, is that Maturin, like the other two Protestant novelists, contributed to the promotion of that new, ultimately exclusivist identity through his exploitation of the antiquarian vogue, even though, like them, his intention was anything but nationalist. In the transmission of antiquarianism from elite scholarship to popular cultural nationalism, the Irish novel of the early nineteenth century forms an important early phase.

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64 Maturin, *The Milesian Chief*, vol. 3, pp. 88–9; vol. 4, p. 51.

65 Ibid., p. 85.

66 Moore, 'The Origins of the Harp', *Poetical Works*, vol. 3, pp. 281–2.

67 Fiona Robertson, *Legitimate Histories: Scott, Gothic and the Authorities of Fiction* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 218–19. Robertson notes the extent to which Scott (in *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819)) also borrowed and adapted the plot of Owenson's *The Wild Irish Girl*.

If we move forward 30 years, then we can see one result of that process in the symbolism employed at a mass gathering of the nationalist Repeal Association. This organization was set up in 1840 to campaign for the repeal of the Act of Union, and it harnessed all the popular icons derived from the antiquarianism of the previous century, but giving the harp particular prominence. Its founder, the great liberal parliamentarian Daniel O'Connell, was an admirer of the novels of Owenson and of the poetry of Moore, although they were suspicious of his methods and jealous of his success.[68] Using tactics of mass agitation that he had previously employed in the successful campaign for Catholic Emancipation, O'Connell devised a series of 'monster meetings' around the country in support of repeal of the Union; where possible these were held in places that had a historic resonance for the public, to stress the possibility of the return of the golden age if repeal were granted. In August 1843 a meeting of an estimated half a million people was held at the Hill of Tara, legendary seat of the high kings of Ireland in early Christian times. Such meetings had to be carefully choreographed (and stewarded) to present a demonstration of potent symbolism and rhetoric while ensuring the maintenance of order among the vast audience. At Tara, O'Connell's open carriage (which took two hours to make the final stages of his journey through the crowds) was preceded by a car on which a harper sat enthroned playing Thomas Moore's 'The Harp that once through Tara's Halls'.[69] Thus, enthusiasm for the harp – initially promoted by antiquaries like Walker, and adapted, as we have seen, to a range of political and cultural perspectives in the post-Union novel – had, by the 1840s, resulted in its transformation into a vibrant nationalist symbol that resonated with a mass audience.

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[68] Connolly, 'Irish Romanticism', pp. 442–3.

[69] Oliver MacDonagh, *The Emancipist: Daniel O'Connell, 1830–47* (London, 1989), pp. 229–30.

Chapter 17
Peter Burke and Brazil: A Mutual Discovery

Ángel Gurría-Quintana

Rather than expound on Peter Burke's well-known contributions to the field of European history, I will concentrate on his encounters with – appropriations of and appropriations by – Brazilian culture. More specifically, I will discuss Peter's contributions to the Brazilian press. Though it is not widely known, Peter Burke has been writing bi-monthly articles for the *Folha de S. Paulo*, one of the country's leading broadsheets, since 1995. By offering a glimpse of his extra-European and extra-academic forays, I hope to widen the frame of reference for discussions of his work, and contribute towards a more rounded – and ultimately richer – 'fabrication' of Peter Burke.

But first a few words about my sources. I dug out notes taken at Peter's seminars in the Centre for Latin American Studies many years ago: talks on the social history of Brazilian carnival or the cultural history of Ronnie Biggs. These were the first indication that the historian of the European Renaissance, of Louis XIV and of Castiglione had other unexpected areas of expertise. More recently I have been able to read many of Peter's articles for the *Folha*, including some fascinating autobiographical sketches. I have also been able to discuss with him the ways in which he has engaged intellectually with what is now, in effect, his second home.

It is good journalistic practice to begin by stating any particular interests. Like Peter Burke, I too married into a Brazilian family. This has made me, as it made him, an accidental Brazilianist. So I am naturally receptive to his enthusiasms.

I am also very alert to the fact that how we first encounter a foreign culture can colour our interpretations of it. We cannot ignore the very personal reasons behind Peter's initial interest in all things Brazilian. I wish to argue, however, that for someone with his intellectual ambitions, his omnivorous curiosity and above all his commitment to establishing connections between ideas and between cultures, Brazil has provided a perfect subject.

The prevailing historical narrative in Brazil, the story most Brazilians tell themselves about themselves, is of 'Brazil as a melting pot', Brazil as the true rainbow nation. (This is a perception which today seems to be slowly eroding under the pressures of urban growth and internal immigration, but that is another matter.) Ideas of miscegenation, hybridity, *mestiçagem* have been the key to understanding the dynamics of Brazilian society. 'I was surprised to arrive [in São Paulo] and find that most people seem to be children of recent immigrants,' says

Peter, remembering how odd it was, as an English child, to have four immigrant grandparents from places as different as Galway, Poland and Lithuania.[1]

Let us linger a moment over that first encounter. It is 1986 and Peter has been invited to teach at the University of São Paulo. His first impression is of the city's smell – more particularly, the sweet smell of exhaust fumes from cars that run on alcohol. Peter writes: 'Like a good European, I generally try to get to know a foreign city, even a large one, by walking round it, beginning with the "historic centre" and moving outward.' But the concept of a city centre, perhaps obvious to a European, is not as obvious in Brazil. Instead there is one magnificently busy avenue, the Avenida Paulista.

There are few pavement cafes for eavesdropping. There are many Italian restaurants, but no one actually speaks Italian. People seem to argue instead of having conversations, and speak all at once. 'Most remarkable of all,' Peter writes, 'listeners were somehow giving their attention to more than one speaker simultaneously. I have never been able to master this art. It is probably like dancing the samba in the sense of being a skill which it is best to start learning before the age of three.'

In fact, a meaningful run-in with Brazilian culture had occurred much earlier, in the early 1960s. Reading Braudel's *Mediterranean*, Peter came across a footnote referring to a work entitled *Casa Grande e Senzala* (*Masters and Slaves*), by a social historian called Gilberto Freyre. This is what Peter has to say, today, about that first glimpse: 'I was impressed by how Freyre is like Braudel, situating everything in a very wide context, as if Brazil weren't big enough. It was a socio-cultural history of a very attractive kind. I imagine that I liked the sensuous history.' No less appealing, he admits, was the idea that a big book could be called an essay. After all, Hugh Trevor-Roper, Peter's graduate supervisor, had written mostly historical essays. Jacob Burckhardt had called his book on the Renaissance an essay. 'So in a way,' says Peter, 'I was programmed to like it.'

Though *Casa Grande e Senzala* was very much an impressionistic essay like Huizinga's *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, there is no indication that Freyre had read Huizinga. We can be sure, on the other hand, that many years later Freyre did read Peter Burke. How do we know? Peter had contributed an item on Freyre to the *Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*.[2] When in 1994 Peter visited Freyre's library in Recife, he noticed a copy of the dictionary. He picked it up and opened it. The page containing the entry on Gilberto Freyre was marked

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[1] This and other quotations are either from personal meetings or from a draft collection of essays – 'The Historian As Columnist: Peter Burke In The Folha' – written by Burke for the *Folha de S. Paulo*. The collection was subsequently published as Peter Burke and Roberto Muggiati (eds), *O Historiador como colunista. Peter Burke na Folha* (Civilização Brasileira, 2009).

[2] A. Bullock, O. Stallybrass and S. Trombley (eds), *Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought* (London, 1977).

with a yellow clip. Here is a case of circularity in cultural exchanges that is like something out of Borges.

Freyre must have been pleased to find this entry by an English historian whom he had never met. He could hardly have imagined the impact that their intellectual affinity would ultimately have. He could not have guessed that one day that Englishman's wife, Maria Lúcia, would write an intellectual biography that has challenged and changed Brazilians' perceptions of Freyre's work. Neither could he have imagined that they, Peter and Maria Lúcia, would be working together on a book set to make Freyre much better known in the English-speaking world than he has ever been.

Regarding some other great Brazilian historians, Peter's education did not begin until after that first visit to São Paulo. He discovered Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, author of *Raízes do Brasil* – though first he discovered Sérgio's son, Chico Buarque, one of Brazil's musical idols.

But back now to those first impressions of an Englishman in Brazil. It is now usual to say that a foreigner's account tells us as much about the foreigner's country of origin as of his destination. As our English visitor navigates the cultural divide, he is impressed by queues outside fashionable restaurants at one o' clock in the morning, by the apparent informality in modes of address, and the tolerance with which people react to mistakes when a foreigner speaks Portuguese. With time, as first impressions give way to more nuanced appreciations, he is able to discern more of the cultural subtleties. He develops an interest in one of the most widespread forms of entertainment in Brazil – watching *telenovelas*. They offer priceless access to the culture since they provide a common point of reference for Brazilians, regardless of class and background. He discovers that some narratives repeat themselves:

> Claude Lévi-Strauss tells a story in his *Tristes Tropiques* which my own experience happens to echo exactly. He complained that in his time the students of the University of São Paulo were always asking him 'Is this the latest article?' His reaction was to suggest that the latest article on a given subject might not necessarily be the best. Fifty years later, when I first taught a course in USP [University of São Paulo], the students were asking exactly the same question (and I gave the same answer as Lévi-Strauss). Ironically enough, the students were faithful to tradition in their concern with the new.

All acts of cultural exchange require cultural mediators, agents who translate – sometimes literally – the codes of one culture into another. In Peter Burke's discovery of Brazil, one particular cultural mediator stands out. I am sure Peter will not mind me saying this in public since he has, after all, dedicated some of his written work to her. Dona Henny is Peter's mother-in-law, Maria Lúcia's mother. It is she who has acted as cicerone, taken Peter to play bingo in São Paulo and explained some of the finer points of Brazilian urban life. One of Peter's texts in the *Journal of Popular Culture* was born from being stuck in traffic jams with

Henny. This led to discussions about the mottoes painted on lorries, which in turn led to further anthropological observations published as 'The Philosophy of the Road in Brazil'.[3]

Henny has played another crucial role – namely, as an ideal reader. This brings me to my next set of observations. The title of this chapter promised to discuss a mutual discovery, and I have so far talked only about Peter Burke's discovery of Brazil. What about the Brazilian discovery of Peter Burke? Eighteen of Peter's books have been published in Brazil, including *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1989), *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (1994), *The Italian Renaissance* (1999) and *A Social History of Knowledge* (2003). Some, like *A Social History of the Media* (2004), co-written with Asa Briggs, have made it into booksellers' top-selling charts. And if reader feedback is anything to go by, he appears to have a dedicated following among people who buy the *Folha* all over the country – the Sunday edition is reported to have 1 million readers.

I said earlier that for the past 15 years, without fail, Peter has published a bi-monthly article. The average article is 1,200 words. He is free to write about whatever he chooses. 'As a historian,' Peter says, 'I have welcomed the opportunity to show by means of concrete examples how a knowledge of the past helps us understand the world in which we live.' His articles can take the form of biographical sketches – for instance, about fellow historians (Gombrich, Buarque, de Certeau, Hobsbawm, Felipe Fernández-Armesto) – or reviews of recent books which have caught his fancy (a novel about Henry James, or a novel by Sándor Márai).

Among his articles there have also been items on the history of mentalities and of ideas (astrology, intellectual property, globalization). Because, in Peter's own words, you can write a social history of anything, he has written too about the social history of cleanliness, clothes, football, rumour, gossip, smells and shopping centres. There are many pieces dealing with culture as text: about navigating the city, about the theatre of violence, about the renaming of streets, about deciphering photographs and museums, about telling stories or about silence. They may be obliquely topical – discussing the history of corruption when the word 'corruption' is suddenly all over the Brazilian media – but they tend to be, to use the parlance of newspaper editors, timeless pieces.

What we need to keep in mind is the fact that these have been written for a Brazilian readership. Even when they are not always about Brazilian themes, they are strewn with references to Brazilian popular culture, Brazilian history, Brazilian films, Brazilian household names. They are a very successful exercise in imagination: Peter Burke, sitting in Cambridge on a rainy winter day, must imagine the frame of mind of a reader opening the newspaper on a hot summer day in São Paulo. This is where thinking of one's mother-in-law comes very handy. By

[3] Peter Burke, 'The Philosophy of the Road in Brazil: Lorries and Their Mottoes', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 30/3 (1996): 209–22.

turning Dona Henny into his target audience, Peter has found the right tone and the right language with which to communicate with 1 million readers.

Journalists and columnists are often accused of simplifying complex issues and of trivializing important ideas. What Peter Burke does in his newspaper articles is, in fact, the opposite. He takes ideas that are in the public domain, often overlooked or overused, and he contextualizes them – he adds layers of complexity and he presents the historical precedents. So, for instance, an article about the Great Train Robber Ronnie Biggs turns into an essay about the myth of paradise which has hovered over Brazilian history since the Middle Ages.

What is the reception of Peter's work? What kind of response do his essays have? Peter tells me that the paper's editors tell him that his mailbag is always full. But two items seem to have triggered more discussion and interest than any other. In one of them Peter raised the issue of the lack of public spaces in São Paulo, and suggested that there should be more Italian-type piazzas. This had citizens and urban planners in a tizzy. The other item was about children's books, specifically about how little they had changed since the time when Peter read them as a child. Much of Peter's research for this piece was done reading to his grandchildren, Marco and Lara. This spurred children's authors and illustrators into sending Peter samples of their work.

In writing for a general audience about the past and its relevance to the present, Peter does what he is often unable to do in monographs – bridge the gap between then and now. I have used the word 'essay' to describe Peter's columns. I use it in its original sense – the same sense that Montaigne gave it: an *essai*, an attempt, a rehearsal. For this is what Peter does: he tries out ideas, he rehearses connections.

I hope I am not being provocative by suggesting here that every academic historian should write a broadsheet column (maybe even a tabloid). Nowadays, it is more likely to be a blog. This exercise would allow the professional historian to test ideas, try them on for size, express them in clear terms to readers with no prior knowledge of our research interests.

I agree with Peter when he quips that 'the essay is too important to leave to the professional essayists'. I agree too when he suggests that 'the best place for making – or communicating – discoveries and innovations is on the frontier, including the frontier between one literary or intellectual genre and another.' Peter's essays shed light on the historian working at the frontier. They reveal Peter the specialist as Peter polymath; or, to use Burckhardt's expression, they show Peter the many-sided man.

I would like to finish with another anecdotal illustration of the nature of Peter's discovery of Brazil and Brazil's discovery of Peter Burke. It is the kind of anecdote that will surely intrigue cultural, intellectual and art historians hundreds of years from now. One cannot speak of Peter without speaking of the history of iconography, so this is about an image. It is a painting that hangs in Peter and Maria Lúcia's dining room. It is a portrait of Peter by Carlos Bracher, a well-known Brazilian artist who lives and works in the colonial mining town of Ouro

Preto. In broad, bold strokes, almost expressionistic, it shows Peter (when he still had a beard), bug-eyed and with a head that looks like it is about to explode. It is Peter at his most intense.

Very recently, my wife and I were travelling around Brazil. We stopped at Ouro Preto, and discovered that Carlos Bracher's studio was half a block away from where we were staying. We decided to pay the famous artist a visit. We were warmly received. When I said I knew his portrait of Peter Burke, and had in fact been one of Peter's students, the artist's face lit up. 'Ah, the Burke portrait,' he said. 'To have the chance to paint a portrait like that is well worth an entire life of effort.'

Whether one talks about cultural exchange, cultural encounters or even intercultural contacts, there could hardly be a more affectionate form of appropriation.

Afterword
Exploring Cultural History: A Response

Peter Burke

The editors have asked me to respond to the papers, now chapters, collected into this volume. What can I say? In the first place, I should like to confess that I was really moved by the occasion – originally, if the oxymoron is allowable, an oral Festschrift, including the description of my 'second life' as a journalist in Brazil and the charming evocation of my mother-in-law by Ángel Gurría-Quintana (who has, like me, married into an extended Brazilian family). I was also delighted to see former students, colleagues and friends assembled in Cambridge to discuss cultural history. I learned a great deal from these contributions, as indeed I had often learned from the authors when some of them were still writing their dissertations. To the organizers of the conference, as to the editors and the contributors to this handsome volume, I should like to express my heartfelt thanks.

There is no space to respond to these chapters individually, let alone to a number of papers that were given at the conference in 2007 but do not appear in the book. The most useful thing to do here is probably attempt to respond to these contributions as a whole, trying to make explicit some of the implicit connections between them.

One thing is clear enough at the start: the variety of the contributions, the work of individuals – not to say individualists – who come from ten different countries (Britain, Estonia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Malta, Mexico, The Netherlands, Spain and the United States). Not only do they work on eight different countries (France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, The Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland), they also ask different kinds of question and make use of different kinds of source.[1] The contributors are all historians (including historians of art), but they draw on the work of anthropologists, folklorists, sociologists and political scientists as well as literary critics and philosophers. It should be apparent that I have never tried to found a school any more than I have tried to join one, despite my sympathy for the so-called *Ecole des Annales*, maintained over half a century (almost a *longue durée* …). The collective achievement of my former students is centrifugal rather than centripetal and ranges from kings and statesmen to currants and tomatoes.[2]

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[1] At the original conference, Belgium, Canada, Hungary and Poland were also represented.

[2] On currants, Maria Fusaro, *Uva Passa: una guerra commerciale tra Venezia e l'Inghilterra (1540–1640)* (Venice, 1996); on tomatoes, David Gentilcore's contribution to the Cambridge conference.

The cultural history practised here could never be described as history with the politics left out; on the contrary, political culture looms large in the chapters by Pärtel Piirimäe, Jacob Soll and Nicole Hochner, and it is visible in a number of other contributions as well. The chapters in this volume engage with some of my favourite theorists, from Geertz to Goffman and from Sydow to Certeau, but also with theorists whom I have not used, from Carl Schmitt to Gilles Deleuze.

All the same, most of the chapters to be found here, if not quite all of them, can be described with reasonable accuracy as contributions to the so-called 'New Cultural History', discussed in the introduction to this volume. In order to place them in this way it may be useful to juxtapose these chapters to the programme presented by Roger Chartier in the introduction to a collection of his articles first published in English in 1988 under the title *Cultural History Between Practices and Representations* and built on these two concepts, together with a connected idea, that of appropriation.[3]

Representations

Chartier derived the idea of collective representations from the sociologist Emile Durkheim via historians such as Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, while the ideas of practice and appropriation were taken – or shall I say appropriated – from later French theory, especially from Pierre Bourdieu, Michel de Certeau and Paul Ricoeur.[4] He used these concepts as replacements for the more traditional ideas of images and rituals, thus illustrating the way in which the new cultural historians have widened their interests. They are concerned with everyone's culture, rather than simply the culture of artists, writers and their patrons, and so they study what is sometimes called 'everyday culture', as well as the special performances mounted on special occasions.

Representations certainly recur in this volume: representations of the saints, for instance, in the contributions by Worcester and Hills; direct representations of rulers, as in Hochner's chapter on Louis XII; indirect representations of rulers, as in the case of Dew's study of the iconography of Versailles in the age of Louis XIV; representations of other cultures, as in Alessandro Arcangeli's 'dancing savages'; representations of the past, as in Clare O'Halloran's evocation of Irish views of their golden age. All these essays may be described as studies in the history of the collective imagination, *l'imaginaire social* as some French scholars

[3] I am proud to say that I suggested to John Thompson of Polity Press that they publish this collection of essays before they appeared in book form in the original French. Chartier published further reflections on this topic in 'Le monde comme représentation', *Annales ESC*, 44 (1989): 1505–20.

[4] On Durkheim, Chartier, *Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 6, 22, 28, 95; on Bourdieu and Certeau, pp. 40–41, 44; on Ricoeur, pp. 11–12, 58, 62, 64.

call it, or rather, of collective imaginations in the plural that vary with place, time, gender and social class.

Cultural historians of an older generation discussed all these phenomena with other concepts, notably 'myth' and 'schema' or stereotype. Some wrote about stereotypes of sanctity or about myths (or at any rate legends) of the saints, in the sense of stories in which the protagonist is presented as heroic, indeed as superhuman.[5] Other scholars described and analysed the myths of rulers, whether heroes or villains. In the cases of saints and rulers alike, attention was drawn to the '*Wandersagen*', narratives that were attached to one individual after another, like the story of the king or caliph who disguised himself and went out into the streets in order to learn what his people really thought of him. Alternatively, scholars focused on what they called, in the language of advertising, the 'public image' of rulers.[6] All these terms are useful and some are employed in this collection, as in the case of Maria Fusaro on the myth of Venice, Nicole Hochner on royal images or O'Halloran on Irish myths and counter-myths, but they now coexist with other concepts such as 'representation'.

The term 'representation' is actually a traditional one.[7] However, its rise in the last generation has been meteoric, propelled in part by Chartier's book and also by the American interdisciplinary journal *Representations*, founded in 1983 by Stephen Greenblatt and some colleagues. The growing awareness that the books and articles produced by historians are themselves no more (and no less) than representations of the past as seen from a particular point of view has also contributed to the success of the concept.[8]

As in the case of the concepts 'myth' and 'image', historians are well advised to ask who is representing what to whom, by what means and with what effects – difficult as it may be to answer some of these questions – and also to engage with the general problem of change over time. In what circumstances do representations of rulers, say, or saints change? Why, for instance, was St Joseph, often treated as a figure of fun in the Middle Ages, represented more respectfully during the Counter-

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[5] Pierre Delooz, *Sociologie et canonisation* (Liège, 1969); Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographies in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1988).

[6] For example Zvi Yavetz, *Julius Caesar and his Public Image* (London, 1983); Nicholas Riasanovsky, *The Image of Peter the Great* (Oxford, 1985); Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendants of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven, 1993); David Howarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485–1649* (Berkeley, 1997); Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Nicole Hochner (eds), *L'image du roi de François I à Louis XIV* (Paris, 2006).

[7] The various meanings of the term are distinguished in Hasso Hofmann, *Repräsentation. Studien zu Wort- und Begriffsgeschichte von der Antike bis zum 19. Jht* (Berlin, 1974).

[8] Hayden White, *Metahistory* (Baltimore, 1973); Hans Kellner, *Language and Historical Representation* (Madison, 1989); Ann Rigney, *The Rhetoric of Historical Representation* (Cambridge, 1990).

Reformation? An equally important question might be 'Do representations really change?' To what extent is an apparently new image no more than an adaptation or recycling of an old one? Instances can be found of 'recycling' in the literal as well as the metaphorical sense, when a statue of a king or saint is modified and re-employed in order to represent another.

Practices and Appropriations

Re-employment (*ré-emploi*), a central idea in the cultural theory of Michel de Certeau, takes us back to Roger Chartier's characterization of cultural history in terms of practices (Chartier and his wife Anne-Marie knew Certeau and admired his work). Certeau's work may be situated within a more general interdisciplinary movement, sometimes described as 'the practice turn', especially but not exclusively concerned with the everyday practices of ordinary people, inspired by theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu, on 'writing on habitus, and Harold Garfinkel, on 'ethnomethodology'.[9]

As in the case of representations, a great variety of practices have been described and analysed by cultural historians. To take only examples from this volume, they include rituals (María José del Río Barredo), spatial practices, especially the use of churches (Daniela Hacke), linguistic practices (Silje Normand), good manners (Herman Roodenburg), bad manners (Carmel Cassar), taking notes (Jacob Soll) and dancing (Alessandro Arcangeli).

As in the case of representations, it is not sufficient to note variety. We should also enquire how that variety is or might be structured. To begin with, whose practices are we studying? Male or female, aristocratic or popular, public or private? Are we concerned with everyday practices or with more elaborate performances for special occasions? Again, historians need not only to describe past practices but also to ask themselves about the principles that underlie different practices such as walking in procession, bookkeeping or engaging in violence (which was gradually 'civilized' or brought under control by the development of the rules of duelling from the sixteenth century onwards).

Yet again, as in the case of representations, historians need to enquire when, where, how, why and to what extent practices change over time, especially over the long term. The apparent continuity of a ritual over the centuries, for instance, may mask profound changes in meaning. On the other hand, apparent revolutions such as the invention of writing or printing may mask significant continuities: writing in an oral style, for instance, or designing early printed books as if they were manuscripts, complete with initials that were illuminated by scribes, at least in some copies of the printed text.

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[9] Michel de Certeau, *L'invention du quotidien* (Paris, 1980); Pierre Bourdieu, *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique* (Paris, 1972); Bourdieu, *Le sens pratique* (Paris, 1980); Harold Garfinkel, *Studies in Ethnomethodology* (Englewood Cliffs, 1967).

In any discussion of changing practices a key concept must surely be that of 'appropriation' or re-employment, as Certeau, Ricoeur and Chartier all emphasize. Most if not all the chapters in this volume, and three in particular, make some use of these concepts or of similar ones such as the *bricolage* made famous by Claude Lévi-Strauss when he employed (or rather re-employed) that term to describe *la pensée sauvage*, 'wild thought'.

Gabriel Guarino, for instance, writes about the active or creative 'reception' of Spanish values in Habsburg Naples. Nicole Hochner notes the eclecticism of the artists and writers who constructed representations of Louis XII and studies what she calls 'the continuous reinvention and renegotiation' of the royal image. David Hopkin focuses on the concept of the ecotype, a concept borrowed – or appropriated – from botany by the Swedish folklorist Carl von Sydow (father of the famous actor Max von Sydow) to describe how what were originally foreign elements are assimilated or domesticated by local traditions.

Values and Encounters

Dichotomies are often useful tools to think with, provided we do not take them too seriously and remain aware of what lies outside or in between them. Take the case of Chartier's epigrammatic description of cultural history in terms of representations and practices. What does it leave out? There is no explicit mention of tradition, a concept that was dear to more traditional cultural historians – though it might be incorporated into Chartier's system by describing traditions as practices that have been handed down from one generation to another. There is no mention of meaning, although it might be argued that a concern with meaning is implicit not only in the study of representations but in that of practices as well. Some scholars speak of 'signifying practices'.[10]

The dichotomy of representations and practices also encourages us to overlook a central part of cultural history: values. The values of a given culture or sub-culture underlie both its practices and its representations. Fortunately, the contributors to this volume take values seriously and have a good deal to say about them. Cassar's stories about the violence of some Knights of Malta would make no sense without the idea of honour. Guarino focuses on what he calls 'Spanish values' and argues that early modern Neapolitans accepted them more often than they rejected them. Values are central to religion (a major theme in the chapters by del Río Barredo, Hacke, Worcester and Hills) as well as to identity, whether that of a social group (Roodenburg's burghers) or a nation (O'Halloran's Ireland). The language of poison analysed by Silje Normand is a vivid expression of values, and so is the iconographic system of the Palace of Versailles, interpreted by Nicholas Dew.

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[10] Stuart Hall (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London, 1997). The concept 'signifying practices' was formulated by Julia Kristeva.

It might be interesting to go a little further in a direction taken by some anthropologists and ask whether the concept of values might be translated by cultural 'rules', rules that create meanings within a given culture.[11] Or if the concept of 'rules' is too rigid, and does not do justice to the flexibility with which people often respond to everyday problems, one might speak of the 'principles' underlying behaviour.

A major preoccupation of cultural historians over the last half century also seems to be missing from Chartier's formulation, despite his interest in appropriation: cultural encounters.[12] Encounters result from practices such as travel and are interpreted via representations of the 'other'; but cultural encounters, or indeed economic, social or political ones, cannot easily be confined to Chartier's dichotomy. They burst out.

'Cultural Encounters' is the title that the editors have given to one of the four main sections of this book, in which Fusaro and O'Halloran write about Anglo-Greek and Anglo-Irish encounters in the age of the British Empire; while Arcangeli offers more general reflections on the encounters between self-defined 'civilized' peoples and the peoples they called 'savage' in the age of the discoveries. In the language of the symbolic interactionists, a group of sociologists for whom encounters were and are central to social theory, each side (whether one person or more) attempts to interpret the behaviour of the other, and at the same time tries to give the other cues to the meaning of their own behaviour, for example that their intentions are peaceful.

As in the examples discussed above under the title 'Representations', stereotypes are central here, shaping the ways in which different cultures – or more exactly, individuals and small groups from different cultures – understand or misunderstand each other. The problem is that the stereotypes are shared within each group but not between them.

Misunderstanding is a neglected theme in cultural history, as is the case in history more generally. In the case of cultural encounters, it is surely a central theme, leading speakers of Spanish and Portuguese to speak of *desencuentros*

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[11] Mary Douglas (ed.), *Rules and Meanings: The Anthropology of Everyday Knowledge* (Harmondsworth, 1973).

[12] Important studies include Henri Terrasse, *Islam d'Espagne: une rencontre de l'Orient et de l'Occident* (Paris, 1958); Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, *The Arab Rediscovery of Europe: a Study in Cultural Encounters* (Princeton, 1963); Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century* (New York, 1987); Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World from Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven, 1993); Stuart B. Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, 1994); Elizabeth Hallam and Brian V. Street (eds), *Cultural Encounters: Representing 'Otherness'* (London, 2000). Other writers prefer the terms 'clashes' or 'collisions'.

and *desencontros* as well as *encuentros* and *encontros*.[13] The problem arises when people from one culture interpret another culture in terms of the rules or principles that are familiar to them, which may be very different from those prevalent in that second culture.

It is of course a delicate matter to decide what counts as a misunderstanding, as in the case of misreading or mistranslation. The historian has to impose his or her judgement, which probably sounds patronizing and may of course be mistaken. All the same, it is difficult to avoid such judgements in cases such as that of Vasco da Gama and his men, entering a Hindu temple in Calicut for the first time with the expectation that India was full of Christians, and kneeling down to worship the Madonna and the saints, however strange-looking.[14] At the very least, historians need to note the discrepancies between the understandings that people have of themselves in a given culture and the way in which other cultures understand them, as in the notorious case of the 'Orient' in the eyes of 'Westerners'.

Such discrepancies have shaped the course of history in important ways, especially when people from one culture have conquered or colonized another and are therefore in a position to make their (mis)interpretations stick, as in the case of the British understanding of the Hindu caste system.[15]

Face-to-face encounters need to be distinguished from encounters at a distance, for example when individuals from one culture (let us say the west) see objects made in another, African masks for instance, or read about another culture, encountering China at second hand via the representations of it to be found in books by other westerners, from Marco Polo or Matteo Ricci. A provisional hypothesis might be that indirect encounters generate misunderstandings (or creative interpretations) even more easily than direct ones, and with less possibility of correction, since foreigners may behave in ways which show our original interpretations of their character to be false.

Whether the encounters are internal or external, direct or indirect, historians might profitably pose certain questions. In the first place, who encounters whom? In the literal sense, encounters involve individuals or small groups, not whole cultures; but these individuals and groups carry their culture inside them in the form of internalized values, rules or principles. In the second place, what are the consequences of the encounters? Do they lead to borrowing or resistance, transfer or transformation?

These questions are surely central to the practice of cultural history and – returning to a problem that Hopkin discusses in his chapter – they might help to

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[13] Some essays in Schwartz, *Implicit Understandings*, attempt to redress the balance. Cf. D.C. Dorward, 'Ethnography and Administration: The Study of Anglo-Tiv "Working Misunderstanding"', *Journal of African History*, 15 (1974); 457–77.

[14] It was also common in the first decades of the sixteenth century to assume that Shiva, Brahma and Vishnu were simply a corruption of the Christian Trinity.

[15] Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton, 2001).

reintegrate cultural and social history. Indeed, it might be argued that all history is the story of cultural encounters, not only between one people and another but within a given culture as well. Encounters between one region and another, between town and countryside, men and women, older people and younger people, or dominant groups and subordinate ones are all central to history because they provoke interactions that generate social and cultural change.

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Over the past 30 years, cultural history has moved from the periphery to the centre of historical studies, profoundly influencing the way we look at and analyze all aspects of the past. In this volume, a distinguished group of international historians has come together to consider the rise of cultural history in general, and to highlight the particular role played in this rise by Peter Burke, the first Professor of Cultural History of the University of Cambridge and one of the most prolific and influential authors in the field.

Reflecting the many and varied interests of Peter Burke, the essays in this volume cover a broad range of topics, geographies and chronologies. Grouped into four sections, 'Historical Anthropology', 'Politics and Communication', 'Images' and 'Cultural Encounters', the collection explores the boundaries and possibilities of cultural history; each essay presenting an opportunity to engage with the wider issues of the methods and problems of cultural history, and with Peter Burke's contributions to each chosen theme. Taken as a whole the collection shows how cultural history has enriched the ways in which we understand the traditional fields of political, economic, literary and military history, and permeates much of what we now understand as social history. It also demonstrates how cultural history is now at the heart of the coming together of traditional disciplines, providing a meeting ground for a variety of interests and methodologies.

Offering a wide international perspective, this volume complements another Ashgate publication, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, which focuses on Peter Burke's influence on the study of popular culture in English history.

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